# LIBERIA.

A republic founded by black men, reared by black men, maintained by black men, and which holds out to our hope the brightest prospects.—HENRY CLAY.

BULLETIN No. 15. NOVEMBER, 1899.

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WASHINGTON, D. C.

COLONIZATION BUILDING, 450 PENNSYLVANIA AVENUE.

# LIBERIA.

**BULLETIN No. 15.** **NOVEMBER, 1899.**

## THE SERVICES OF LEONARD BACON TO AFRICAN COLONIZATION.

It is only by a studious effort of the imagination that a reader of the present day is able to conceive of the fervor of that spirit of charitable enterprise in which Leonard Bacon was immersed from his childhood up. Born in Detroit in 1802, his infancy was passed amid the perils and privations of a missionary's life among savages, and his early childhood in the cabin of a pioneer pastor on the Western Reserve. A schoolboy at Hartford, he listened to the saintly Obookiah pleading the needs of his native Hawaiian islands, and was presented to him by his own missionary father as one consecrated to the work of Christ. In his senior year at Yale, a boy of seventeen, he witnessed the farewell to the first company of missionaries to the Sandwich islands, and could with difficulty be withheld by his duty to his widowed mother and her fatherless little children from joining himself to the mission company. Whether he ever saw Samuel John Mills, I do not know; but when, at the age of eighteen, he became a member of Andover Seminary he found himself in an atmosphere redolent of the fragrance of that holy memory. At the end of the Seminary course, being appointed, though youngest of all, to pronounce the valedictory address, he uttered, among other memorable words, the following:

"A young minister of the gospel once said to an intimate friend, 'My brother, you and I are little men, but before we die our influence must be felt on the other side of the world.' Not many years after a ship returning from a distant quarter of the globe paused on her passage across the deep. There stood on her deck a man of God, who wept over the dead body of his friend. He prayed, and the sailors wept with him. And they consigned that body to the ocean. It was the body of the man who, in the ardor of youthful benevolence, had aspired to extend

his influence through the world. He died in youth, but he had redeemed his pledge, and at this hour his influence is felt in Asia, in Africa, in the islands of the sea, and in every corner of his native country. This man was Samuel John Mills, and all that know his history will say that I have exaggerated neither the grandeur of his aspirations nor the result of his efforts. He traversed our land like a ministering spirit, silently and yet effectually, from the hill country of the Pilgrims to the valley of the Missouri. He wandered on his errands of benevolence from village to village and from city to city, pleading now with the patriot for a country growing up to an immensity of power, and now with the Christian for a world lying in wickedness. He explored in person the desolations of the West, and in person he stirred up to enterprise and effort the churches of the East. He lived for India and Owhyhee (Hawaii), and died in the service of Africa. He went to heaven in his youth, but his works do follow him, like a long train of glory that still widens and brightens and will widen and brighten forever. Who can measure the influence of one such minister of the gospel?"

It was not strange that the project of the colonization of Africa, in the promotion of which Mills had laid down his young life, should engage the attention of the young men then occupying the places of Mills and his fellow-students. Mr. Bacon's middle year (1821–'22) coincided with that vigorous reaction and revival of anti-slavery feeling and action, both at the South and at the North, which succeeded to the temporary despondency produced by the success of "the Missouri Compromise." Notwithstanding the studious efforts to represent this and the following years as a period of apathy on the subject of slavery, they were really a time of the most earnest and practical activity. In the volume of the "Transactions of the Andover Society of Inquiry Concerning Missions" for this time, out of six elaborate dissertations, not less than four are devoted to this subject. At the instance of a student from Kentucky, a committee was appointed to consider what could be done for the elevation of the Negro race, and the writing of its report was assigned to Mr. Bacon. Writing his recollections of this time more than a half-century later, he said:

"We were to view the black population of our country as a definite portion of the human race—were to consider how it might be elevated from a degraded position to the dignity and privileges of Christian civilization. I read what I could find on the subject, but nothing was more helpful to me than a series of

articles from the pen of Jeremiah Evarts in the "Panoplist" for 1820. Two of these articles were published while the Missouri question was pending; the third and fourth, 'On the Condition of the Blacks in this Country,' were intended to show that the defeat on the Missouri question was no reason for despair; that the condition of the blacks was still a legitimate subject of discussion, and that the improvement of their condition was still a legitimate object of effort on the part of patriotic and Christian men. * * * Another help I had in the sermon of the younger Edwards on 'The Injustice and Impolicy of the Slave Trade and of the Slavery of the Africans,' an eighteenth-century pamphlet which Ralph Randolph Gurley, then and thenceforward the enthusiastic servant of the American Colonization Society, had caused to be republished in Boston, hoping to give it circulation in the Southern States. In the simplicity of his heart he thought, and he always continued to think, that he was working for the universal extinction of slavery. Having mentioned his name, I must not be denied the privilege of paying here my tribute to his memory. I knew him well; and a man more worthy to be loved, more earnestly devoted to the service of God in doing good, and more self-forgetting and self-sacrificing I have not known."

The "Life of Mills" was at that time a fresh book. It was matter, of course, that the subject of his latest hopes and prayers, "the idea of a colony in Africa which should become the fulcrum of effort for the elevation of the African race in America," should be included in the studies of the committee.

"Our study and consultation resulted in convictions such as these: The colony which had been planted on Cape Montserrado might be made to grow into a free and civilized State; Christian benevolence, North and South, might unite in sustaining the colony and in securing for it not only good government, but schools and all other civilizing influences. Those of the colored people, whether bond or free, who might become inhabitants of such a colony would find their own condition greatly improved and would have the inspiration of hope for their children. The enterprise would excite neither alarm nor hostility in the slaveholding States, while it would be the means of conferring liberty on multitudes of slaves, and would rally to its support the entire Christianity of the South. * * * The civilized Negro State on the coast of Africa, with its growth in knowledge and in wealth and power, would react upon the condition of the African race in the United States and would set before them the strongest incentives to well-doing."

The young man of twenty years had small reason to complain that his labor was in vain. His report was recast into the form

of a review, and thus published in the *Christian Spectator* for September and October, 1823. A pamphlet edition of it was widely circulated by the agency of the Andover students; and it is an impressive sign of the times that then were, that this pamphlet, containing denunciations of American slavery as strong as ever were put into language, was not only published in New England, but republished at Richmond for circulation at the South.

On the invitation of the managers of the Colonization Society, a committee was appointed by the Society of Inquiry to visit Washington and attend the annual Colonization meeting at Washington. The presence of the two young men from Andover was not without weight in the councils of the Colonization Society. "At the first meeting of the board of managers," writes Mr. Solomon Peck, making report of their doings, "Mr. Bacon, in behalf of the delegation and by request of the board, suggested four topics of consideration and accompanied them by such remarks as the occasion seemed to demand. The first respected the fitting out of ships for Liberia; the second the appointment of agents and the formation of auxiliary and State societies; the third the establishment of a periodical publication, and the fourth the establishment of a seminary for blacks." The one thing which the delegates most emphasize in their report is the unvarying tone of opposition to slavery which was heard throughout the meeting from men both of the South and of the North. They say:

"In almost every conversation with the board of managers we have given a prominent place to the subject of slavery; we have been met with the utmost frankness and cordiality; we have received the most unequivocal assurances which the nature of the case permits, that the extinction of slavery is with them an object of primary importance. We had the pleasure in particular of hearing a gentleman of the South, of high standing and of extensive and increasing influence generally, as well as of weight in the board, express at one of these meetings his utter detestation of slavery. His chief motive, he said, in becoming a member of the Colonization Society was the hope that it would exterminate slavery from the land, and he should withdraw his support at once were he compelled to relinquish that expectation."

Among the near friends of Mr. Bacon at Andover was Samuel Hooker Cowles, of Farmington, whose noble "enthusiasm of

humanity" and whose early death are commemorated in the *Christian Spectator* of January, 1828. He was an anti-slavery man of the early and noble type, "willing to lend his hand to any measure which prudence and philanthropy might dictate." His favorite project was "the establishment of an African college, where youth were to be educated on a scale so liberal as to place them on a level with other men and fit them for extensive usefulness to their brethren, either in this country or in the colonies." In such plans for the elevation of the colored race the minds of these generous young men were busy. Presently there came to Mr. Bacon a noble opportunity of setting them before the public.

For several successive years a number of the Boston churches united, at the Park Street church, in a religious celebration of the Fourth of July. In the year 1824 Mr. Bacon was invited to be the orator on that occasion. It was impossible for a generous mind to join in the jubilation over the liberty and prosperity of the people at large without being reminded of the enslavement and degradation of the people of color. Not only in Boston, but elsewhere, the Christian celebration of Independence Day became an annual appeal in behalf of the still dependent, depressed, and enslaved. The title of Mr. Bacon's Boston oration was "A Plea for Africa." Exhibiting the pitiable condition of the African race, both in its native continent and elsewhere in the world, he argued that the task of raising it from its degradation, whether in Africa or in America, was one task and not two.

"If we would be successful in the pursuit of either, we must aim at the attainment of both. Cover Africa with the institutions of civilized freedom, and fill it with the light of knowledge and religion, and the whole Negro race is raised in a moment from its hopeless depth of degradation; and, on the other hand, give freedom and intelligence and all the rights and honors of humanity to the exiled descendants of Africa, and you have completely provided for the salvation of the continent from which they sprung."

Having expatiated fervidly on these two aspects of his subject, he came to the practical conclusion of his discourse. The various and diverse efforts for the good of the colored race ought to be combined in a system that should accomplish the whole work.

"Those projects of benevolence toward Africa to which the attention of the American public has already been invited do in fact constitute such a system. The means of elementary instruction and the apparatus of moral and religious culture which are employed on our colored population lie at the foundation of all African improvement. The societies for the abolition of slavery are continually urging the claims of these unfortunates with a zeal which scorns to be weary, and which gathers impulse from discouragement. The scheme of an African seminary for liberal education, which has been as yet only slightly discussed, will not be forgotten, for there are men engaged in its behalf who will never rest while God spares them to the world till the chasm which they now lament shall have been filled up and the school which they have projected shall be sending forth its pupils to become throughout the earth the noblest and most efficient benefactors of Africa. * * * And to consummate the system, the institution for which I am particularly desirous to excite your immediate interest is sending back the descendants of Africa to the land of their fathers, that they may extend over the continent which God has given them for their inheritance the light and blessedness of Christian civilization."

The spirit of this "plea for Africa" never ceased to be the spirit of Mr. Bacon's long and strenuous advocacy of the cause of colonization. It was the spirit of a large and generous philanthropy, intent not on some one or another scheme, but on every measure that promised good help for the lifting up of a sorely wronged, depressed, and degraded race of his fellow-men. His first and immediate duty was to the colored people within his reach. The first Fourth of July after his ordination as pastor at New Haven (1825) he repeated there the "Plea for Africa" given the year before in Boston. Printed in pamphlets and newspapers, with its unreserved denunciations of slavery, it was widely circulated and warmly welcomed at the South as well as at the North. Two days later a few gentlemen met at Mr. Bacon's room, July 6th, by whom it was—

"Voted, that we, the Rev. Leonard Bacon, Mr. Luther Wright, Mr. Alexander C. Twining, Mr. Edward Beecher, and Mr. Theodore D. Woolsey, do form ourselves into a club, to be entitled the Anti-slavery Association."

The five young men, most of them college tutors, with two others, subscribed $35 out of their little salaries and set themselves about the work to be done, first, for the black population

of the city of New Haven; second, on the public sentiment of the city and State, and, third, through the influence of the theological students in the Yale Seminary. How earnestly and practically they began the first part of their work was soon evidenced by the formation, in conjunction with other citizens, of "The African Improvement Society of New Haven." The documents are still extant showing the careful and sympathetic house-to-house inquiry that was instituted, showing the pitiable degradation in which the colored people of that town were living in their slums or their poor, disreputable suburbs. In April, 1827, the society printed an address which set forth these notorious and painful facts and its own methods and purposes in view of them. Charitable ladies had given their services in personal work. Religious worship and instruction had been organized, with one of the best and kindest of men, the Rev. Simeon S. Jocelyn, as pastor. Schools had been provided both for children and for older persons. A library was to be established suited to their use and a savings society was to encourage every disposition to thrift and providence. These earnest labors, continued from year to year, were "not in vain in the Lord." In 1831 the editor of the *Liberator* wrote from New Haven of the wretched negro community in that city: "As a body, in no place in the Union is their (the colored people's) situation so comfortable or the prejudices of the community weaker against them." But of what sort was the condition of this population where it was most comfortable was set forth in Mr. Bacon's Fourth of July sermon of 1830.

"Who are the free people of color in the United States, and what are they? In this city there are from eight hundred to a thousand. Of these a few families are honest, sober, industrious, pious, and in many points of view respectable. But what are the remainder? Every one knows their condition to be a condition of deep and dreadful degradation, but few have ever formed any conception of the reality. The fact is that, as a class, they are branded with ignominy. They are surrounded by every temptation to vice. More than half the incentives to industry, to self-improvement, to frugality, to the common virtues of society are never addressed to their minds. What the result is may be traced in the statement of a few facts which were collected and published in this city less than a year ago. [Here the preacher read detailed extracts from the report of a Bible

Society's visitor whose duty had called him to visit every colored family in New Haven.]

"Such is the condition of the great body of the 800 people of color in this enlightened and Christian city of New Haven. In the midst of all our enjoyments, what have they to enjoy? And certainly their condition in this city is no worse than a fair specimen of their condition elsewhere. Yet in the United States the population of this description amounts, probably, to not less than 300,000. There are in this country 300,000 freemen who are freemen only in name, degraded to the dust and forming hardly anything else than a mass of pauperism and crime. In this State one-thirty-fourth part of the population is of the description we are now considering; and yet that thirty-fourth part of the population furnishes the State prison with one-third of its convicts. And the facts are substantially the same throughout the Union."

In his strenuous endeavors for the social, moral, and intellectual uplifting of the colored people about him, Mr. Bacon felt, as others like-minded were feeling, the necessity of opening some hopeful career to a people so depressed and discouraged. There had been nothing to weaken his early conviction that the prosperity of the African colony would be a blessing not only to the colonists but to the colored people remaining in America.

"Will not the great body of the free people of color in this country experience the benefits of this undertaking? Will they not soon learn that there is a land where the Negro is no more degraded and where the deep brand of ignominy fades from his brow? And will not the knowledge of such a fact tend to waken and expand the capacities of their nature? Will it not tend to rouse them to self-improvement and to enterprise? Will there not grow up a strong and animating sympathy between them and their brethren beyond the seas? Will they not thus insensibly acquire both self-respect and the respect of others? Will not the wretchedness of their degradation be alleviated? And as this new light shines on their darkness will not a new impulse and a new efficiency be imparted to every other effort of benevolence in their behalf? Let this work be successfully prosecuted, and how long will it be ere the same spirit of adventure which carries so many of our young men to the banks of the Ohio, the Illinois, and the Missouri will impel thousands of young men of color to seek a home on the hardly more distant shores of Africa?"

And then he further commends the enterprise of colonization for its tendency to promote the abolition of slavery. 1, it offers to many individuals a long-wished-for opportunity to emanci-

pate their slaves; 2, it promotes continual discussion of the subject of slavery; 3, it removes one of the greatest obstacles to the progress of conviction at the South—the condition of the free blacks.*

Nothing is more notable and more characteristic of the man in the work of this early advocate of colonization than the constancy with which he held this enterprise in its due relative place as part of a system of efforts for the advancement of the colored race throughout the world; but this was the spirit and temper of the men in general with whom he was coöperating. It was the very people who were laboring to encourage the emigration to Liberia that were at the same time active in efforts for the advancement of the colored people at home, so that it could boldly be said, in 1830, "We doubt whether a city can be found north of Philadelphia which has not its 'Clarkson Society' or its 'African Improvement Society,' or some such association aiming to promote the comfort and improvement of this wretched population." † Perhaps his most intimate associate in the Connecticut Colonization Society was that "enthusiast of humanity," Thomas H. Gallaudet, of Hartford. Between the Christian communities of Hartford and New Haven there was a generous emulation in labors for the uplifting of the black population of the two cities.

A favorite plan of the young men at Andover, as we have seen, was the plan of a college for the liberal education of colored youth. The first public announcement of the scheme was made by Mr. Bacon, when, in 1823, at the age of twenty-one, he urged it upon the Colonization Society, at Washington. It was advocated by him in his "Plea for Africa" at Boston in 1824, and at New Haven in 1825. Not only in Andover was the plan taken up with eagerness. President Griffin, of Williams College, was enthusiastic in its favor. Theodore Woolsey was earnest and wise in counsel about it, and his friend, Ridgely, wrote to Woolsey and Bacon:

"I am delighted with the idea of calling a general meeting at New York to deliberate about the practicability of establishing

* The substance of this sermon, recast and expanded as a review article, was published in the *Quarterly Christian Spectator* for September, 1830.

† L. Bacon in *Qu. Chr. Spectator*, II, 524.

a Negro university. The necessities of Africa cry aloud for some such institution. Her children are starving for the bread of knowledge. They must have it. It is my opinion that twenty well educated and accomplished young Negro gentlemen (I hope you are prepared for the unusual association of terms) would do more for that forlorn and outcast race than all that has been yet accomplished by their distinguished benefactors at Washington. It would go far to dignify the name."

Already, in the summer of 1825, this project had been talked over in the little "Anti-slavery Association" of young colonizationists at New Haven. The chief discouragement which it encountered was the non-success of a feeble experiment in that direction which was languishing in the hands of the Presbyterian Synod of New Jersey; but the matter was not let drop. After wide consultation and correspondence, in the summer of 1829, the matured plan of the institution was submitted to a circle of leading citizens of New Haven, especially those connected with Yale College, and was cordially approved. A member of Mr. Bacon's congregation, Arthur Tappan, subscribed $1,000 conditionally as the nucleus of a fund. The plan which had been cherished by the young pastor for more than seven years seemed in a fair way to be realized. A little more, and the foundation of Hampton and Atlanta and Tuskegee might have been anticipated by forty years.

The defeat of this part of Mr. Bacon's broad and comprehensive scheme for the uplifting of the colored people was due to a conjunction of circumstances that made an epoch in the history of the colonization enterprise and turned the labors of some of its friends into a new direction. Hitherto the problem had been to awaken benevolent interest in it to the point of contributing the large sums required for the founding of a new State across the ocean and to satisfy conscientious masters desirous of emancipating their slaves that there was a hopeful career open to the freedman in his fatherland. Positive opposition to the enterprise there was none, except from the very few scattering voices that had begun to be heard here and there at the South in defense of slavery as a permanent policy. Henceforth it was to be subject to persistent attack from opposite directions, requiring it to wear "the armor of righteousness on the right hand and on the left."

In the year 1829 the Fourth of July address at the Park Street church, in Boston, was delivered by Mr. William Lloyd Garrison, who had then just been awakened to a sense of the injustice and wrong of slavery. There are many notable things in Mr. Garrison's career, but by far the most remarkable of them is the protracted torpor of his conscience on this subject at a time when the community all about him was stirred with profound feeling and eager agitation. In his boyhood and youth he had been repeatedly at Baltimore, where the scenes of the internal slave trade had made no impression on his sensibilities. He had been in the newspaper work in New England and apparently had heard nothing of the strenuous anti-slavery activity manifested on all sides through press and pulpit and platform; and yet he must have known something of it. He might by some possibility have forgotten the still recent agitations of the Missouri controversy. He might have failed to read the appeals of Jeremiah Evarts, by which the religious anti-slavery sentiment in his own region had been profoundly stirred. He might not have happened to fall in with the edition of Edwards on "Slavery and the Slave Trade," printed at Boston by Secretary Gurley, of the Colonization Society, or with Mr. Bacon's pamphlet on the condition of the black population. He may somehow have missed the anti-slavery meeting in his own village held on the Fourth of July by the ardent young abolitionists of Andover Seminary. But it is hardly conceivable that, being invited to deliver the seventh in a series of annual anti-slavery discourses he should not have heard of the six that had preceded it; and in fact he himself, when first aroused from his exceptional indifference to the subject a few months before, certified to the universal prevalence of an earnest anti-slavery sentiment, both at the South and at the North, in a paper penned by his own hand.

With the zeal of a new convert, the orator thus suddenly awakened from his long and strange apathy on the subject on which all the community beside were feeling so intensely, made a speech marked by two characteristics: first, his impression that he was almost alone in his sympathy for the blacks, "over whose sufferings (said he) scarcely an eye weeps or a heart melts or a tongue pleads either to God or man;" secondly, the wild extravagance of his advocacy of colonization. It was to accom-

plish a miraculous sea-change in the emigrants; and it might be effected by the deportation of the black population at the cost of the Federal Government. The colonization cause has been frequently imperiled by the extravagance of its partisans, and never more so than at this time.

Happily the danger from Mr. Garrison's friendship, which ruined whatever it clung to, was escaped, and the less serious damage of his bitter enmity incurred. Only a few months after this colonization discourse in Boston, Mr. Garrison was making a tour through the North for the purpose of making what was afterward published under the title, "An address delivered before the Free People of Color in Philadelphia, New York, and other cities during the month of June, 1831." The address contained some wholesome, kindly advice, and some things calculated to flatter that vanity which has so often been a pitiable and fatal weekness of the colored people—to encourage them to a bumptious and pushing demand for social equality, and to excite their bitter and malignant passions. The discourse concluded with a venomous attack on the Colonization Society and its supporters, in which the studious attempt was made to poison the minds of the colored people with the belief that the men and women who, for long years before he had taken any interest in the subject, had been engaged in various efforts for the advancement of the depressed race both in America and in Africa, were really embarked in a dark conspiracy to shut them out from the light of knowledge, to defraud them of their rights, and to perpetuate slavery. Few things are more illustrative of the helpless ignorance of the blacks than the fact that it should be possible for a mischief-making demagogue to deceive them by such talk about those whom they had known for their generous friends and benefactors. The sorrowful facts about the low condition of that people that had been sought out by charitable inquiry and laid before the benevolent public as the ground of an appeal for aid and protection to the helpless and instruction to the ignorant were quoted to them with the emphasis of capitals, as proof that "those who have entered into this CONSPIRACY AGAINST HUMAN RIGHTS [the colonization enterprise] are unanimous in abusing their victims." Such talk as this naturally did not tend to inspire with confidence in Mr. Garrison "the Anti-slavery Society of New Haven" and "the African Improvement Society,"

whose labors for the colored people of that town had had the result of making their condition, according to Mr. Garrison's own testimony, better than anywhere else in the United States. But that which more deeply alienated from him the respect of many of the friends of the colored people everywhere was the apparent purpose and the unmistakable tendency of his language to incite bitter race hatred and bloody insurrection and servile war with all its horrors. His language to the Negroes was as mild as Mark Antony's "Good friends, sweet friends, let me not stir you up to mutiny!" and the meaning of it seemed as obvious. Less than eight months from the beginning of the *Liberator* the ferocious insurrection of Southampton broke out (August 22, 1831), followed by a more ferocious retaliation on the part of the whites. It was inevitable that the public mind, justly or unjustly, should connect the two facts in the relation of cause and effect; and the impression upon the public could not but be deepened by the style, not easily distinguishable from glee and exultation, in which the awful news was announced in the *Liberator* with the heading, "BLOOD! BLOOD! BLOOD!" and with the editor's claim that these horrors were the fulfillment of his predictions and a just retribution on the miserable community that had been overwhelmed by them.

Most inopportunely, it was just while the details of this bloody tragedy were still arriving at New Haven that the scheme for an African college, which had so long been maturing in the councils of the friends of the colored people and of the colonization enterprise, and which had received the approval of the leading citizens of New Haven, was announced to have been taken under the patronage of Mr. Garrison, who was not ashamed to flatter the silly vanity of the Negroes with absurd promises of gigantic intellectual superiority that it would confer upon them "after the first four years." The graduates of this college were to become "the Websters and Clays and Hamiltons and Dwights and Edwardses of the day," and the "judges and representatives and rulers of the people—the whole people." Such talk as this, addressed to the poor, illiterate, and credulous Negroes, was more than disgusting to sober citizens; in view of the Virginia massacres, it was alarming. The occasion was eagerly seized by politicians interested in the Southern vote. In hot haste a city meeting was called, and after speeches appealing to the meaner

passions of the populace, a series of resolutions was passed almost unanimously that are an ineffaceable blot on the history of New Haven. In a strain that afterward became shamefully familiar to the public ear, they denounced "the founding of colleges for educating colored people" as "an unwarrantable and dangerous interference with the internal concerns of other States," and declared that "the mayor, aldermen, common council, and freemen will resist the establishment of the proposed college in this place by every lawful means." In face of such a demonstration of public sentiment in that place in which, of all the Union, the condition of the colored people was most comfortable and the prejudices against them weakest, it was vain to urge the project further at that time. In this outburst of popular madness Mr. Bacon lost the hopes and patient labors of eight years. But the occasion did not pass without his solemn, indignant, and reiterated protest. "With mortification and sorrow" he rebukes "the spirit with which we have seen a sober and Christian community (or one so reputed) rush together to blot out the first ray of hope for the blacks." "Are we," he asks, "unnecessarily disturbed or grieved without a cause when those whose business it was fearlessly to stand up and stem this oppressive, inexorable prejudice—to show that it is but a limb of that accursed system of bondage which we all execrate and lament—when such men, we say, join in and fan the flame?"*

* *Religious Intelligencer*, September 17, 1831. The authorship of the article was not doubtful. The way in which the history of this affair is written in the interest of Mr. Garrison and his sect is highly characteristic. According to writers of this party, the Colonizationists were in a "conspiracy" to defeat all efforts to elevate the colored people in America, and thus to force them into exile. But "the Abolitionists from the beginning recognized the duty of devising some means for the education of colored youth." Mr. Garrison had thought and spoken of the idea when he lived in Baltimore; but Mr. Jocelyn, of New Haven, who represented Mr. Garrison's views in that "hot-bed of colonization," was the first white man to conceive the idea of founding in this country a college for Negroes, and his plan, which had been broached two years before, was defeated (so the story is made to run) through the guilty connivance and cowardice of Mr. Bacon, who "did not find his voice on this occasion, but bent before the storm." (See O. Johnson, "Garrison and his Times," 119-124. Life of Garrison, chap. VIII. Henry Wilson's "The Slave Power," I, 215.) This is one instance out of a multitude of the insane recklessness of truth that is manifested in the writings of this school.

The concerted and persistent attack on the Colonization Society that was led by Mr. Garrison imposed upon Mr. Bacon a double duty. His immediate task was to refute the calumnious misrepresentations made by Mr. Garrison in his address to the colored people, and a few months later in his pamphlet, "Thoughts on Colonization." How thoroughly this was done, with exposure of fallacious arguments and false references and shockingly garbled quotations, may be seen in Mr. Bacon's successive articles in *The Quarterly Christian Spectator* for June, 1832, and March, 1833. The favorite fallacy of the Society's assailants had been to present an array of wrong sentiments which individual supporters of the Society had expressed or could be represented as having expressed, and to prove by these that the Society was a cruel and inhuman defender of slavery and enemy of the colored race. It might have been proved by exact parity of reasoning and with far greater copiousness of evidence that it was an abolition society devoted to the promotion of the interests of the colored people in America. In fact, it was neither one nor the other, but simply a colonization society, limited by its constitution to a single, definite work and having no competency to meddle with others.

And nevertheless it was true that the Society, conceived and sustained as it had been in the noblest spirit of Christian patriotism and humanity, publicly advocated and sustained for the promise that it gave of elevating the colored race on both continents, of promoting emancipation and procuring the abolition of slavery, was exposed to unjust odium by the unworthy arguments and the unworthy tone with which it had sometimes been commended by individuals. Having its headquarters at Washington, the center of political management, there was danger that sinister influences might prevail in its councils. It was a besetting temptation to the Society to lean on the fleshly arm of distinguished politicians. The crisis called for a determined effort to hold the institution true to its course as a benevolent society.

It was a deep sense of the importance of this that induced Mr. Bacon, notwithstanding an unusual pressure of work and care at home, to make the tedious wintry journey to Washington to attend the annual meeting of the Society in January, 1832. What importance was attached by some of his nearest friends

to this journey of his is indicated in a few lines in a letter from his wife. After giving several instances of kind attention to her on the part of the Rev. Simeon Jocelyn, the devoted friend and pastor of the colored people of New Haven, she adds:

"He acts and talks as if you had conferred a special favor on him by going on this business. He told his people on Sunday what you had gone for, and proposed to them to have a concert of prayer on Monday morning that you might be strengthened and directed from on high to do those things which would be for the good of the poor slaves and for the glory of God. He said they all, every one, rose up like a cloud and agreed to observe it. The people, all that I have seen or heard of, are glad you went, and, I think, will take more interest in the Society on account of it."

A letter from Mr. Jocelyn himself expresses the deepest interest in Mr. Bacon's "visiting Washington to plead the cause of the oppressed people of color and to present the true interests of the Colonization Society on the pure principles of benevolence and not 'after the rudiments of men,' 'the men of this world.'"

At the thronged meeting in the Hall of Representatives, Mr. Bacon was followed by Edward Everett in one of his most exquisite pieces of rhetoric, and by Congressman Archer, of Virginia. His own brief speech distinctly defines the dangers which the wisest friends of the colonization enterprise apprehended as besetting it at this critical time—dangers which their best efforts did not succeed in wholly averting. It was in support of a resolution to the effect that the Society ought to be commended to the public as a benevolent institution, and especially to the free people of color as an institution designed primarily for their good. The meeting, he writes:

"Is universally said to have been a meeting of extraordinary interest. The great hall was crowded at an early hour, so much so that when I arrived I found much difficulty in forcing my way through the crowd to the narrow area that was left vacant near the chair of the president, where I was compelled to stand through nearly all of the exercises. I had not been able to put pen to paper by way of preparation for my speech, and it fell to me to speak first, in that strange place, in that great assembly, and in a most inconvenient location for making an unembarrassed extemporaneous address. Yet I got through very confortably, on the whole, and said nearly all that I had intended, without being

betrayed into any expressions suited to give offense and without exceeding twenty minutes."

That twenty-minute speech may be read in full in the *African Repository* of the year 1832, but some parts of it are specially illustrative of the history of that period:

"I apprehend, sir, that at the present crisis there may be some danger of forgetting that our institution is primarily and pre-eminently benevolent. It is not impossible that, in our reasonings about the ulterior results and complicated bearings of the work, we may too much overlook the immediate and grand design of doing good to the wretched, elevating a degraded race from its misery, and chasing from a wide continent the deep darkness that has covered it for uncounted ages. Let the institution cease to be a benevolent institution, and its prosperity will begin to fail, the devout will cease to commend it to God in their prayers, and the friends of suffering humanity will no longer toil in its behalf.

* * * "There is danger that the free colored population will fall into the hands of far other men than the friends of this Society. We have seen something of this danger, and the sources of it are not difficult to be discovered. Our institution is one the success of which will not only bless those who are the immediate objects of its beneficence, but by blessing them will bless also the country in which no laws and no benevolent exertions have as yet been able to secure them an equal birthright, and the people among whom—such is the force of mutual prejudice—they are strangers and outcasts. Unquestionably, sir, this is an important aspect of our enterprise, and one which I would by no means desire any man to overlook; yet here is the source of the danger referred to. When the Society is spoken of as an institution which is to relieve us from present and pressing evil, and which may relieve the country from a prospective and not distant danger—when such views are urged on the self-interest of the nation, the people of color are not ignorant of this aspect of the subject; they read, they hear, and when they are spoken of as a nuisance to be got rid of, they prove themselves men—men of like passions with us—by resenting it. Their prejudices are roused. They stand aloof from the design; and the fact is not to be concealed that the free people of color, taken as a community, look on our undertaking with disaffection. Meanwhile there are men whom nature has endowed with such talents as equip a demagogue, and with whom it seems an object worth ambition to head the free people of color and to receive the honor of their applause. Such men know how to move these people in the line of their prejudices. 'This country,' they tell them, 'is

your country; here you were born, and here you have a right to stay. We are your friends, and we will maintain your rights against those who would drive you into exile.' Thus moving on their ignorance, wearing the aspect of friendship, and let us say, too, acting as their friends in many other respects, such men find it at present an easy matter to confirm them in their prejudices, and to acquire an influence over them which may be directed to disastrous issues.

"I have not made these remarks, sir, without a view to their practical application. We all believe that this institution is admirably calculated to do good to this unhappy portion of mankind. We know that this is its immediate design. In our view, it stands with its hands full of blessings for these our fellow-men. Let us go, then, and show these fellow-men that we are individually their friends. Let us show this in every way in which intelligent and substantial benevolence can manifest itself. Thus we may get within the intrenchment of their prejudices, and may bring them to understand how vast, how rich, how noble is the inheritance which the Society offers to them. They need only to know this clearly, and nothing more will be necessary to carry them thither."

The speaker urged upon the managers of the Society the policy of no longer paying the transportation expenses of emigrants, but rather of putting the whole strength of the Society into the improvement of the colony itself.

"May it not be that this hiring them by paying all their expenses has confirmed them in the suspicion that their removal is designed entirely for our benefit and not at all for theirs. It seems to result from the principles of human nature that when Liberia shall be known and indisputably acknowledged to afford the free people of color all those privileges and blessings which we are assured that it will afford them, they will rush thither of their own accord and pay their own expenses. We may be confident that the more you do for the improvement of the colony, for the erection of public edifices, for the construction of roads and bridges, for the establishment of schools, the more you do to make it a desirable asylum, the more rapidly will you promote emigration. Let there be in Africa a well-ordered, prosperous, and intelligent republic, stretching along the sea and penetrating the continent, the forest vanishing before its citizens and the wilderness becoming a fruitful field, and when the tale come back to us, as surely it will, the children of Africa among us will hear it. The story will soon go down even to the dark depths in which they dwell. Voices which they cannot but understand will tell them of riches that are theirs if they

will rouse themselves and be men, and at that sound they will come forth to light and liberty as from the sepulcher.

"The enterprise of your Society, considered as a work of benevolence bearing first and most of all on the well-being of the African race, commends itself to the regard of all who feel for the miseries of degraded humanity or who pray for the coming of the Kingdom of God. It occupies an eminent position among those undertakings of Christian zeal which are the glory of the age. It is to sustain a grand part in bringing about the consummation of those hopes which look for the day when truth and righteousness shall everywhere prevail and under the light of the word of God every system that degrades or enthralls mankind shall vanish like the fabric of a dream. Let us go on, then, with our work, cheered by the thought that these efforts of ours are combining with other influences to introduce the universal dominion of liberty and purity and joy, when under the broad sky all around the green world there shall be one aspect of peace and no throne of a despot shall offend those smiling heavens, no footstep of a slave pollute that new and rejoicing earth."

The peril against which Mr. Bacon strove so earnestly was only partly and for a time averted. The immediate effect, indeed, of Mr. Garrison's crazy onslaughts on the Society was not very considerable. His extravagant invectives were easily refuted, even refuting themselves sometimes by their own extravagance; but the indirect effect of his attacks was more serious. They multiplied to the Society a retinue of most undesirable friends. For an egregious example of this, a small lawyer named Judson, in the small country town of Canterbury, Conn., made himself notorious as a ringleader in the disgraceful persecution of the Crandall sisters for keeping a school for colored girls in their own house. Presently he was found posing before the public as an advocate of the Colonization Society. This signalized him as an opponent of abolitionists and commended him to the favor of Southern politicians and of the administration, by whom he was exalted to the bench of a Federal court, in which capacity it afterward fell to him to preside at the famous trial of the case of The Amistad. Accessions of this kind could not take place without disgusting and repelling others, and the accessions could not easily be debarred. The platform of a colonization meeting was often used not only for defense against the virulent attacks of the Garrison abolitionists, but for those open apologies

for slavery which now for the first time began to be heard at the North from politicians of both parties. A right and useful enterprise does not cease to be right and useful when a bad man steps forward to advocate it from evil motives with fallacious arguments. Thus Mr. Bacon conclusively argued. It was not logical to desert a good cause because bad men adhere to it. It was not logical, but it was natural and inevitable that this would be done. Some honorable and high-minded men withdrew from the Society, disgusted with their new associates. Mr. Bacon, not less disgusted, remained, still maintaining the integrity of his anti-slavery principles and recording his open protest against every wrong in act or deed.

In these few pages I have recorded briefly and with many important omissions the services of Mr. Bacon to the cause of African colonization in the first decade of his public life, beginning in his boyhood. Services still more important were to be rendered by him in the stormy and perilous years that were to come. It may be that I shall have the privilege of continuing the story down to a later time; but so much as this, out of the life of one of the earliest and most ardent of the advocates of this cause, is enough for a vindication of the noble principles and motives of himself and the men with whom he was associated, and enough for a refutation of the calumnies which nearly seventy years ago were invented and published against the Society and its friends and which continue to be republished to this day.

It is not unlikely to be said by some reader that the record of Mr. Bacon's work may be accepted as a vindication of himself individually from the charge of sympathy with the system of slavery and of cold-hearted indifference to the welfare of the colored people, but that it shows no more than that he was an exception among the friends of African colonization generally. It is a sufficient answer to this to say that it was against him individually and by name and as representative of the friends of colonization that these charges were made; that it was eminently his arguments and denunciations against slavery that were garbled and falsified by misquotation to prove that colonizationists were in sympathy with slavery; that it was his long public and private labors for the liberal education of the blacks, defeated through the folly of the enemies of colonization, that were claimed

by these as the fruit of their belated zeal, culpably abandoned by him; that it is in full view of the instrumentalities organized and set in operation by him which had made the colored people of New Haven superior in condition to those of any other place in the Union, that he is maligned to this day as having had, like other colonizationists, "nothing but disparagement and contempt for the free people of color;" that it was the pitiable facts set forth by him in an appeal to Christian hearts to enter into these labors for the uplifting of the depressed and degraded, that were used to poison the minds of the colored people against him and the philanthropists associated with him as men "who have entered into a conspiracy against human rights," and "are unanimous in abusing their victims." If now it appears, as it must needs appear to any one who acquaints himself with the facts, that Leonard Bacon, from his brilliant boyhood to his honored grave, was the unwavering and ardent friend of liberty and justice, the unflinching enemy of slavery, the lover of humanity at its lowest and neediest not only, but the ready and eager helper, according to his opportunity, of every most helpless human creature, with a special tenderness of sympathy toward the African race as being most depressed and least befriended—the result is something more than to vindicate him. It is to impeach and utterly discredit before the judgment-seat of history the witnesses who, undeterred by repeated and irrefutable exposures, persist in their attempt to fix upon him and men like-minded with himself an undeserved stigma. Their calumnies so recoil upon themselves as to put suspicion on any statement made by them in disparagement of any man's character or in glorification of themselves or of one another. The progress of exact historical study cannot be long in demonstrating that the history of their bitter controversy with the great body of the Christian anti-slavery men of their time, as that history is written or inspired by them, is a tissue of vainglorious and malignant fiction, in which the very truth that it contains is largely perverted to do the work of falsehood.

Leonard Woolsey Bacon.

## THE FUTURE OF THE NEGRO.

The recent political disturbances in the Carolinas have provoked much discussion of what is commonly called the Negro problem. The Negro has been brought into court, his case made out, and his plea entered by the "other side." The hearing has been entirely *ex parte*; but give the Negro himself a chance to present his own case freely, plainly, fairly, without being subjected to unfair criticism and misrepresentation—seemingly intentionally prejudicial to him—and other and more satisfactory conclusions will be reached. All discussions of the subject, so far, hold the Negro responsible for the solution of some problem which has never yet been stated.

Fairly stated, as I understand it, the problem is this: "Will the white man permit the Negro to have an equal part in the industrial, political, and civil advantages of the United States of America?" From this statement of the problem, it is clear that the Negro has no part in its solution. He is here by sufferance, and can remain only by grace. To talk of "rights" means but little. Rights, in the human vocabulary, are just what man gains by contention and struggle, or what the strong concede to the weak. Contention and struggle, in the Negro's case in this country, mean aggravation and death. Whatever comes must be concession. There has always been a race problem, and, I suppose, there always will be, until human nature shall have changed. Egypt, we are told, solved her race problem by divine intervention; ancient Asiatic empires, Greece, and Rome by the sword; the early Briton was exterminated. The British Empire has its race problem today; and 150,000 white-skinned Anglo-Saxons control, soul and body, 250,000,000 dark-skinned Aryans, and exercise toward them a spirit of caste, bitter, blistering, and blighting. There will never be a time without a race problem, wherever two peoples with any points of difference live together. Race problems are in each case simply race prejudice. Race prejudice is unreasonable. It is as deep and abiding as it is unreasonable; and it is excusable because it is unreasonable.

There is a kind of indescribable dislike, founded on the differences in racial characteristics, which is manifested in antagonism at every opportunity. We hear of a high plane whereon all races

"live, move, and have their being," devoid of race prejudice, but, so far, the world has seen it only in theory. Greek mind, standing tip-toe on the shoulders of the highest Oriental intellect and virtue, never so much as got a glimpse of this "universal racial equalization." Take one thousand white men and one thousand black men, representing the highest intellect, virtue, and industrial skill, trained in all the principles of the Gospel of Jesus of Nazareth, and place them, above want, remote from the contaminating influence of race-hating men, and before the end of the third generation the race question would be raised and racial lines would be drawn. The black men would rally round their flag, the white men round theirs. One flag would gain the ascendency or both would disappear in amalgamation. Racial identity on racial equality could not obtain. Races and peoples draw lines on the slightest differences, regardless of merit. It is as difficult to equalize races as it is to equalize wealth.

Our race problem is not a Southern problem, but a problem for the Anglo-Saxon people, in India, in Africa, in America.

Education, it is said, will solve the problem. Just how this will come about we are not informed and I cannot see. Without some kind of schooling different from that which mankind has had up to date, education will only aggravate the question. The educated Negro will feel that there is no disgrace attached to physical features or to his previous condition; hence he will more and more love and honor his race and grow into a kind of pardonable clannishness or racial pride, which is the mainspring of racial achievement. A blind man can foresee the result.

I may be excused for saying here that the conclusion reached a few months ago by Georgia's distinguished governor, that Negroes should not be educated because by reason of education they grow more criminal and clamor more for association with white people is not justified by the facts. I do not hesitate to affirm that nine-tenths of the Negro criminals are uneducated. The distinguished governor will also find upon investigation that the more education the Negro gets, the farther he is removed from the desire for social intermixture with the white race. He will also find that marriages of whites with blacks in States where there is no statutory provision against such marriages are too few to prove anything but palpable exceptions to the general rule.

The educated Negro, as a rule, does not desire and does not seek any social admixture with the white race; and, strange as it may appear, this very fact will ultimately vex the problem. Social equality has no place in discussions of race problems. Social equality is a matter of individual preference. No race with pride wishes annihilation, whether by absorption or amalgamation. The body of the Negro race in this country desires continuation of racial identity. It resists intermixture. I grant, however, that there are some Negroes—a part of the Hon. Robert H. Porter's 1,132,000 "colored people"—who are trying to get away from the Negro race.

We are told that if the Negro will get property the problem will be solved. One orator declares that when a Negro gets what the white man wants—when a Negro gets a mortgage on a white man's farm—no one will bother him about voting. Now, all this is just what I fear—this battle over the loaf. A casual retrospect of history tells me that the hard point in Negro life in America will not be reached until the Negro has to struggle with his white brother over the loaf. So far we have had only a few skirmishes, and our losses in former bread-earning positions are not yet fully compensated by the new positions demanded by our new positions as free men. What will be the result with increasing population and competition and with fiercer conflict? Will the conflict come? "I do not believe it will," says one. "I have faith in the upward tendency of the spirit of universal brotherhood," says another. There were those who expressed similar sentiments thousands of years ago, and still the world has gone on in the same old hard, cruel way in solving its race problems. It has never changed at a single period in its history. Dollars never solve problems. They are as powerless in this as armies and navies. Problems are born in the souls of men, and, if solved at all, must be solved there.

Religion, it is claimed, will settle all these vexing matters. What is the record of religion on this question? Has it ever settled them? Christianity, as interpreted by races struggling for ascendency, has been on trial for nearly two thousand years. What is the record? Do not men accommodate their religion to their prejudices? I admit that Jesus Christ is the perfect moral idea. Russia proclaims the peace principles of Christ, while in practice she strengthens her army and prepares for war. The

world has never invented nor has it had revealed to it a religion which, as interpreted by ambitious men, has ever settled any phase of a race problem.

It is urged that if the Negro will stay out of politics the race problem will be solved. Whether he stays out or not has no bearing upon its ultimate solution. Whether he affiliates with Republicans or Democrats or any other political party will not solve it. Political silence may remove the question a little in time. Meanwhile the gentle zephyrs will change to tornadoes and, aggravated by the school-room and the struggle for wealth, will return with more deadly results. I have voted with the Democracy of the South for twenty-two years, and if every other Negro in the country had done the same we should still have the same race problem. I have advised, and now practice, political silence, but I know that such a course will not settle the question. The Negro will not go out of politics as long as he has the privilege to vote. If he desired to do so white men, for personal gain, would drag him in. The genius and spirit of our Government, as well as the ambition of the Negro, give him zest for politics. The Negro has political ambition, and ought to have it; it is a credit to him. If he had no such ambition I should have no faith in his capacity to grow and take on civilization. He must vote and take part in government or become a worthless, dangerous incubus on society. The Negro, trained and educated by the white man, has the same ambition and aspirations as the white man, and nothing but the white man's overshadowing competition and power can prevent the Negro from attaining his highest ideals. Having this capacity and ambition, these high aspirations, and feeling proud of his race, he enters into competition. These noble characteristics, these manly virtues, themselves will hasten and intensify conflict and, as I see it, the Negro's destruction.

I have said that the solution of the problem does not rest with the Negro. He has fulfilled every condition of civilization. He is a fervent, long-suffering, forgiving Christian. He is every man's friend. Every man is welcome to his humble cabin and to the best he has in it. He is a non-striker, a jolly, docile laborer, a loyal, sober, and industrious citizen and a brave soldier. He has added much to the material, moral, and in-

tellectual South since the war, as the following epitome of facts shows:

He has reduced his illiteracy 45 per cent. in thirty-five years. Negro children in the common schools number 1,500,000; Negro students in higher institutions, 40,000; Negro teachers, 30,000; Negro students learning trades, 20,000; Negro students pursuing classical courses, 1,200; Negro students pursuing scientific courses, 1,200; Negro students pursuing business courses, 1,000; Negro graduates, 17,000. There are 250,000 volumes in Negro libraries, 156 Negro higher institutions, 500 Negro doctors, 300 books written by Negroes, 250 Negro lawyers, 3 Negro banks, 3 Negro magazines, and 400 Negro newspapers. The value of Negro libraries is $500,000; of Negro school property, $12,000,000; of Negro church property, $37,000,000; of 130,000 Negro farms, $400,000,000; of 150,000 Negro homes, besides farms, $325,000,000, and of Negro personal property, $165,000,000. Since the war the Negro has raised for his own education $10,000,000.

The friends of the Negro should not be ashamed of this record, and if he has any enemies they surely must admire the battle which he has fought and won for himself and for the South. If we turn on the light of the eleventh census we find that:

1. Negroes are more eager for education than whites. The whites enrolled 14 per cent. of their population in 1870 and only 22 per cent. in 1890; the Negroes, 3 per cent. in 1870 and 19 per cent. in 1890.

2. The whites have 9 criminals to every 10,000 of their population, the Negroes 33 to every 10,000; but the whites have 100 to 1 in educational advantages, have the entire machinery of the courts in their hands, and 100 chances to 1 to evade the law and to escape punishment.

3. Whites and Negroes each have 8 paupers to 1,000 population, while the whites are 64 to 1 in wealth and 100 to 1 in good paying positions.

4. The Negroes die twice as fast as the whites, but the whites have greater comforts and many advantages as regards skilled medical attention.

5. The whites have .61 of 1 per cent. divorces; Negroes .67 of 1 per cent. The whites have 2,000 years' advantage in civilization.

6. In the whole country there are 25 Negroes to 75 whites who own their homes. The proportion should be 1 Negro to 6 whites.

7. Of the Negro homes 87 per cent. are freeholds; of the white homes but 71 per cent.

8. Of farms owned by Negroes 89 per cent. are unencumbered, of those owned by whites but 71 per cent.

9. Forty-one per cent. of Negroes are engaged in gainful pursuits, while only 36 per cent. of whites are thus engaged.

10. Government reports show that the Negro is the best soldier in the regular army.

But why present this evidence of Negro fitness for civilization? Why dig up the census comparisons, to the disparagement of the white man? These things have no salutary influence upon the race problem. They rather irritate the matter. They mean competition and combat, into which every differentiation of racial characteristics will be made to play a hurtful part.

The Negro should no longer deceive himself, nor suffer himself to be deceived, about Northern sympathy. Judge Tourgee, a few years ago, declared that the white men in this country who favor absolute justice, complete civil rights, and fairness in all things for the Negro would not reach ten thousand. The average Northern politician of today is no more like Sumner or Lincoln or Phillips or Garrison than the mummy of Rameses II is like the real old king himself. The whites prate about constitutional liberty and civil rights, while they shut out the Negro from the best means of gaining a livelihood, even mob him, and the President himself says that he cannot prevent white men from whipping Negroes from offices, destroying their property, and driving them from communities. Why continue this hypocritical farce of Dr. Jekyll and Mr. Hyde?

The Negro must just take his chances. That is all. When the old, gray-haired veterans who followed General Lee's tattered banners to Appomattox shall have passed away, the Negro's best friends will have gone; for the Negro got more out of slavery than they did. "Now there arose up a new king over Egypt, which knew not Joseph."

Let the Negro lay aside his delusions and dreams, and recognize the terrible, stern reality of the situation. Whether North, South, East, or West be his ambition, his aspirations are chained

to a stake, are circumscribed by Anglo-Saxon prejudice and might; his movements are circular. If he leap upward, it is only as the tide in its frantic and futile endeavor to reach the moon. If education, wealth, religion, cannot solve the question, then what can? There is no solution except (1) in complete surrender of racial pride and ambition; (2) in absorption by the very worst element of whites; or (3) in voluntary or involuntary deportation. I do not deny that there are and will be individual exceptions; but I am speaking of races, not individuals.

We have the rise and decay of nations pointed out; and we are told to stand still and wait upon the salvation of the Lord. Yesterday I heard the sound of martial strains. I looked, and saw the proud "Mistress of the world," in holiday attire, celebrating the triumphant return of a Cæsar, leading three hundred kings among his captives. This morning I heard a requiem. I looked. The conquering Cæsar had turned to clay, the once invincible legions were rotting and their bones bleaching upon a thousand battlefields. Rome had her toes turned toward the blue skies; and the barbarian was beating his tom-tom and dancing upon her lifeless bosom. Still race problems remain. The facts in our case today are steadfast.

This is a hard view. I know that there are thousands of kind souls—good-feeling, God-fearing white men and women in the North—who will throw up their hands in horror at these statements; but the facts remain the same. I know that there are thousands of noble and generous white men and women in the South who will be thrown into hysterical recitations of the virtues of countless "black mammas" and "Uncle Jims;" but the facts are still stubborn. I know that fifty thousand Negro professors and ministers are on their feet at this minute, hurling anathemas of excommunication from the race—aye, condemning to eternal exile "any person who has so little faith in the ultimate triumph of Christian tendencies toward the unification of all races on the American continent designed by God for the purpose"—but, like Banquo's ghost, the facts will not down.

The Negro, I say again, may just as well understand, as President McKinley has said, that he is "not to attempt the unattainable," or he will be broken, shattered, destroyed, in proportion to the intensity of his attempt at President McKinley's "unat-

tainable." Let him, without thought of solving this problem, go right on, educating himself in all the essential principles of the highest Christian civilization that he can get hold of, making of himself a polite, law-abiding, peaceful, industrious, dignified man, full of honor and integrity, in his own sphere, and he will have fulfilled what seems to be the highest law of being; and in God's eyes no race can climb higher. That people who have thrown into the world the best thoughts of divine truth—the Jews—have had their problem for forty or more centuries. They have suffered most, but have helped the world most. As freemen, they taught spiritual truth and right-doing as no other people have done. As slaves, they built the enigmatical pyramids and weird sphinx, constructed the wonderful walls and hanging gardens, and the gigantic coliseum. While they are not supreme in any nation, they are a power in all, and maintain their identity, personality, and integrity everywhere.

So far as the solution of the race problem on American soil is concerned, I have presented above a very pessimistic view, as some people count pessimism; yet to me it is an iridescent picture. No sick man is likely to call in a physician until he feels the need of such assistance. Until he feels such need he is in real danger; but the moment he recognizes his true condition his danger is lessened.

Senator Morgan's ideas about repatriation, cruel and hard as they appear, seem to me to point to a glorious destiny for the Negro. Anglo-Saxon prejudice is but the voice of God calling to the Negro to arise and go and make himself a people. Bishop Turner is looking through the telescope of prophecy a hundred years ahead of us all when he declares that he does not see any future for the Negro in America. I do not think, however, that there will be any wholesale emigration, for the present Negro is doubtless here to stay, and it may be providential that he is. It requires a somewhat different Negro to settle and draft a new civilization in a foreign land; but the next few generations will see a Negro with views as far different from the views of the Negro leaders of today as day is different from night. There will be no statutory laws oppressing the Negro, no disposition by legal sanction to drive him from the country, and yet he will go. His own pride, the desire to redeem Africa from its darkness, and, last, the allurements of a thousand superior advantages

for mental and material gain to be attained through hardship and adversity will be irresistible. He will no longer, as now, look for easy highways to success. This will check increase and in a bloodless, natural way solve the problem which the pride and greed of the Anglo-Saxon race can never do.

The cultivation of the strongest, most manly traits of character by the present Negro will put into those future generations that which alone can make the desert blossom and the waste places, rejoice just as Luther, Zwingli, Melanchthon, and Calvin, one or two centuries in advance, moulded the manhood which conquered savage man and beast and blessed the bleak shores of New England with a grand civilization.—*W. H. Councill in the Forum.*

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## THE CAPE TO CAIRO RAILWAY.

"The steamer is the white man's power," said my friend Dombi to me last year, 1,500 miles in the interior of Africa. Dombi deserves to rank with Khama in the category of African chieftains. We were talking about the future of the white man and the black in Africa. He was wiser than he knew. When I was asked by the government in Brussels as to the best method of quelling the periodic revolts in the Kongo State, I said, "Build railways; one locomotive in Central Africa is worth more than a million armed men." To the native African a steamboat is a most wonderful affair; but then, it is, after all, only a development of their canoes. But where in all the world was ever seen anything like the "steamboat on land," as they call the trains?

There are two men of colossal proportions mentally and imperially now looming up on the horizon of the world. They are Nicholas of Asia and Rhodes of Africa. These men are antipodal in all things save in the love of power and the knowledge of how to use it. Each is building a railway; each is conquering a continent. An eminent German specialist has classified Europe according to the scale of degeneracy. It would be unfair for an American to say who stand lowest; but at the highest stand the English and the Russians; and these are the railway builders of the Oriental world.

Mr. Rhodes has said that the dream of the Dutch section of South Africa appears to be that of a nebulous republic on an

Afrikander basis. If so, it may be said of him that the dream of Rhodes in Africa is a continental empire on an English basis. In Africa, in building houses the first consideration is the roof; and of the roof the first element is the ridgepole. The "Cape to Cairo" railway may be described as the ridgepole in the African structure of the greatest eastern section of the Anglo-Saxon empire. This it is, and nothing more or less. Mr. Rhodes may please the Germans today, even as he pleased the Afrikander-Bond of old; but, poor deluded people, they seem to have forgotten "Timeo Danaos dona ferentes!" Those over-anxious Englishmen who tremble at French or German schemes in Africa need not unduly harass themselves. Two hundred years ago America was mostly French and Spanish.

Clearly to grasp the situation with respect to this great continental railway, let us consider it from four points of view—geographically, politically, commercially, and with reference to the general future of Africa.

The series of mountains which extend from near Suakim on the Red sea to Table mountain at the cape form what may be called the western rampart of the continent. To the east of these ranges the country falls away rapidly toward the coast, ending in the malarial belts, as unhealthy as any regions in the world, the Limpopo river being their southern boundary and the Juba their northern. To the west, however, the country has a very gradual slope toward the great plateau lands of Central Africa, which are generally as salubrious as the malarial belts are deadly. In general, the course of the "Cape to Cairo" railway may be said to run along the crest of this plateau, from south to north, falling naturally into four great sections. The first extends from Cape Town to Buluwayo, about 1,360 miles; the second from Buluwayo to Abercorn, at the extreme southern point of Lake Tanganyika, about 959 miles; the third from near Mukambe, at the northern end of Tanganyika, to Khartoum, about 1,500 miles; the fourth from Khartoum to Cairo, about 1,050 miles, making a sum total of about 4,860 miles. It may be confidently called a 5,000-mile railway.

The two sections, from the northern and southern ends, respectively, are now completed and in practical operation, though the section from Cairo to Khartoum has been chiefly a military line under the Egyptian and British governments. This will,

however, ultimately, of course, become a part of the "system," leaving only the two middle sections to be completed, a distance of about 2,500 miles.

The country on the whole is admirably adapted to purposes of construction. The section from Buluwayo to the Zambesi will doubtless follow one of the tributaries of the latter, and then will proceed up the beautiful and fertile valley of the Loangwa river to its source among the foothills south of Tanganyika, and crossing these by a comparatively low series of grades, the lake itself will be reached at Abercorn, on its southern extremity.

Crossing the low range immediately at the northern end of Tanganyika, the line will probably then take down the course of the Nile source, the Kagera river, to its junction with Lake Victoria, near Uganda's capital; thence skirting snow-crowned Ruwenzori, it will proceed to where the Nile issues from Albert Nyanza, and thence down the Nile to Khartoum. Three great bridges must probably be built, at the Zambesi, and twice across the Nile. It is proposed to use the length of Tanganyika to shorten the transit at first, using steamers for its 450 miles; but ultimately the lake will be parallel with a line through the Congo Free State, along the western border of the lake.

The valley of the Kagera lies for the main part in German territory; hence the necessity of Mr. Rhodes' recent visit to Berlin. But it is worthy of note that out of the whole 5,000 miles of the line, only about 200 must be built through territory other than British. British dominion, including the Saxon-guarded Egypt, of course, thus extends almost 5,000 miles along the rampart of Africa.

It is interesting to study the collateral branches—eastern and western "feeders"—of this titanic road. On the east are chiefly four—the Transvaal road, from Delagoa bay to Johannesburg, and Palapye, Khama's capital; the Portuguese, from Beira to Buluwayo; the German, from Zanzibar to Ujiji, where Stanley found Livingstone, and the British, from Mombasa to Uganda. On the west, two will ultimately be built, and two are in construction; the first two being on the northern and southern extremities, respectively, from Lake Tchad to Fashoda, and from Walfisch bay to Buluwayo. The two now building are the Portuguese, from St. Paul de Loanda toward Tanganyika, and the Belgian, from Matadi toward Uganda, utilizing the vast

Kongo along its course. These last two are very interesting. The Loanda railway aims at piercing the great Zambesi-Kongo watershed, the last great stronghold of the slave trade—the black man's last retreat—"because there the steamers cannot come," and the Kongo systems by passing around the comparatively short cataracts of the Kongo at Livingstone falls and Stanley falls, respectively. The section around Livingstone falls, near the west coast. was completed in 1898, thus throwing entirely open the 10,000 navigable miles of the Kongo, and those around Stanley falls will be completed probably before the main Cape to Cairo railway is finished.

These lines together furnish the most wonderful system in the world.

On the whole, this railway will pass along its whole course through the healthiest parts of Africa. The mountain summits in Uganda rise to nearly 20,000 feet, and the whole route is along an elevated crest, except in the Lower Nile valley. Moreover, the rapidity with which travel may then be conducted will enable the traveler to pass in safety through the unhealthy regions swiftly on to the better parts.

As to the scenery, it need hardly be said that it will long remain the most varied and interesting in the world. Over the wide, grassy plains of the south and center; across mighty rivers; past snow-crowned mountains; through tremendous tropical forests—where large game will bound away from the speeding locomotive. Nor will travel ever be incommoded by snowstorms or bound by ice and flood. The temperature will be modified by the motion, and at no point will be as bad as along the Southern States of America in midsummer. Ice factories can be built along the whole course. Mr. Tripler's liquid air can be made on the train and constantly released to cool and cleanse the atmosphere.

Politically, the railway is intended to make Africa finally and predominantly British. If the Strait of Gibraltar were ever closed an enormous British colonial army could be thrown in seven days into Egypt from the south. Troops from Southampton can now be landed over fifteen hundred miles into the heart of Africa in twenty-one days. By the Cairo route the Cape could be reached in fourteen days, and all points along the line proportionately less. England will then have the three corner points of the African triangle—the Niger, the Zambesi, the Nile. Mili-

tary posts, manned by white soldiers, will spring up along the whole course of the line. The domestic slave trade will cease. The native population will see the utter futility of resistance.

As to the other European powers, their attitude will be perforce one of coöperation. The Englishman is entirely satisfied as long as he is allowed to lead. Enlightened public opinion in England will finally settle down upon the policy of digesting and assimilating the vast regions thus brought undersway, and allow the other nationalties to do the same with their smaller portions. The predominant English influence, however, will gradually pervade the whole, and practically, if not formally, the continent will be more Anglo-Saxon than America.

What form this mighty empire will assume depends largely upon England's attitude. A benevolent system of easy sovereignty, allowing and encouraging the largest possible amount of local self-government, will retain the imperial connection to the point where unwieldiness necessitates subdivision. Until that time the African colonies will maintain their general connection with the mother country. Beyond that point the whole land may confederate into a republic overshadowing all previous conceptions of government. The commercial success of the railway will be slow, but sure. It will be well to consider this with reference to (*a*) labor; (*b*) competition; (*c*) initial cost; (*d*) proximity of material, or the cost of its importation. As to its source of income, we have freight and passenger traffic.

The mass of labor will be native. General superintendence will be by European labor, but generally at prices subject to the European scale of competitive labor wages, and consequently, comparatively from the American standpoint, low. The native labor is and always will be comparatively ridiculously cheap, owing to the extremely low cost of living. The railway runs mainly through a fertile and productive country. Moreover, the native labor is almost indefinitely capable. In the Kongo railway and steamboat service you will find natives who five years age were eating each other in the bush now driving locomotives and running steamboats. The line of the road runs almost exclusively through the superior Bantu people, of whom the Zulus, Matebele, and Baganda are typical representatives. As the line is to be guaranteed by the Government, little competition will be allowed. The "feeders" will serve mainly to

develop their own local territory and will interfere comparatively little with the main line. The whole general system being controlled by a few syndicated men, it will own and operate its own local branches built along strategic points, and these will all swell the general profits. At the same time, the necessity of developing trade along its route will prevent unduly exorbitant charges, as its own success will depend upon the commercial development of the country. Moreover, the same men at the head of the railway are practically at the head of the exploitation companies, and the interests of one are the interests of all.

The initial cost will be high, but the government guaranty will offset this. The average cost per mile of the remaining 2,500 miles of the railway should not be more than $30,000 per mile, a maximum estimate, which will make the cost less than the estimated cost of the proposed bridge across the Hudson—spanning a continent and spanning a river, for comparison.

The line of the railway will pass the great coal beds of the Zambesi, near Tete, and the enormous iron deposits of the Tanganyika region. Here furnaces will, no doubt, in time spring up and huge iron works be established, supplying nearly all Africa. Magnificent forests of available timber for coaches exist from the Zambesi to the Nile. Water power can be obtained everywhere. Undoubtedly, Africa has the finest water-power system on earth. What Niagara is to America, Livingstone falls, Stanley falls, Murchison falls, and Victoria falls are to Africa, and these are not all.

Of freight there will be chiefly three classes: Food produce, special tropical products, mineral, and forest products.

Sir William Crookes warned Europe last year that the present sources of food-supply were rapidly being used up. Witness the bread riots of last year in Italy. The world needs the tropics for food. Asia, China, Japan, India, periodically starve for food. America will soon eat all she produces. Australia can hardly feed England. Africa is capable of production from Tunis to Cape Town, from Guardafui to Cape Verde. The very Sahara is turned into a garden by artesian wells. The African is the best agricultural laborer in the world. Africa is to be the garden of a hungry earth.

From the Upper Nile the railway will ship wheat, rice, and cotton to Alexandria. From the midcontinent will go corn, to-

bacco, rice, and cotton to the gold, diamond, coal, and iron fields. Besides these, the natives must be fed, and where they gather at centers of industry will be shipped manioc, peanuts, plantains, bananas, potatoes, and every other form of native food produce.

The more immediate returns will come from the transportation of special tropical products. At present these are chiefly ivory, rubber, gum-copal, coffee, cocoa, kola, palm oil, and kernels. The chief two products among these of much importance at present are rubber and palm oil.

From data in my possession I estimate that the basins of the Zambesi, Kongo, and Upper Nile, with adjacent territories, should be producing for export annually, by the time of the completion of the Cape to Cairo line, at least ten thousand tons of rubber, at a gross value of about $15,000,000, and this will be constantly increasing. The palm-oil trade will be about the same for the same regions.

The point about the transportation of such material as this is that its value is very great in proportion to its bulk. The railways are thus enabled to charge high rates and reap large returns with a small installation of rolling stock. This observation, of course, applies also to the minerals transported.

Africa is probably the richest mineral continent of them all. Besides the Kimberly and Johannesburg diamond and gold fields, other similar deposits are being constantly found, and copper and iron smelting operations have been carried on for centuries by the natives in the very country which this railroad proposes to open up. The whole Kongo-Zambesi divide is probably one enormous coal field. The passenger traffic will, of course, not be very great; but the natives will use the road as soon as its charges are sufficiently low, and there will be a considerable transportation of tourists, colonists, and troops.

The possibilities of the road may be gauged by the fact that a ticket for a first-class passage from England to Buluwayo is now less than $300, and that Buluwayo has grown in five years from nothing to a population of over 5,000 whites, this being nearly 1,500 miles north of Cape Town.

A fine illustration of the English conception of the prospective value of this line may be seen in the case of the British limited company, the "Tanganyika Concessions." This company, cap-

italized at $500,000, proposes to sell lots of land at Abercorn, on the south end of Lake Tanganyika, under a concession obtained by them, and lots are being offered and taken, although this point is a thousand miles above the present terminus of the road. The question of the time for the completion of the road is, of course, invested with the usual difficulties; but, under ordinary conditions, the road should be completed in five years. The latest information is to the effect that the government guarantees the first section of the road from Buluwayo to the Zambesi, which ought to be amply satisfactory, and is, no doubt, all Mr. Rhodes really wanted, as the road must, of course, be built in sections, and the Egyptian and British governments will take good care of the progress from Khartoum southward.

The origin of this fever of railway construction may be said to be due to the desire, about 1890, on the part of Mr. Rhodes and his associates to open up and hold for the British Empire the vast regions north of Cape Colony against the designs of Germany and the Transvaal. Begun thus, the plan has gradually evolved into a sort of semi-romantic vision of spanning Africa, a dream at last realized under the necessities of political competition and financial repletion. Of course, it will ultimately be carried out, for behind it are three great forces—a great man, a great nation, and the force of the inevitable event.

The telegraph is being constructed ahead of the railway, and by this time the line should already be at Lake Tanganyika. An American, Mr. Mohun, is in charge of another telegraph construction company under the Belgians, erecting a line from the west to join Mr. Rhodes' Transcontinental Telegraph Company in the north and south line.

The general future of Africa may be briefly summed up thus: A vast tropical mining and agricultural concession, directed by the whites living in the healthy mountainous districts, and operated by the natives in the rest. Organized capital will play the predominating part. All undertakings will be carried on in a large and coöperative way to an extent unknown in other lands. White colonists will settle the higher and healthier parts, but the greater part of the manual labor will be carried on by the Africans, and the whites will occupy Africa largely, if not entirely, in the capacity of labor overseers. Institutions for training the natives will be planted at these healthier parts, and from

thence a constant supply will be sent out to the rest of the continent. Already the Gordon College at Khartoum is one such institution, and the long-established and splendid Lovedale school in South Africa is another.

For the whites to exterminate the African is to kill the hen that lays the golden egg. The African alone can work successfully in the fields, mines, railways, and shops of seven-tenths of Africa. He makes, when well fed and justly treated, a docile, laborious, and capable workman. The Bantu people are also quite superior to our conceptions of the Negro, and may develop into an ingenious and progressive race. There is no ground for entertaining any extravagant or sentimental hopes upon the question of the future of the African race. They are not endowed with the qualities of the Anglo-Saxon and may never reach the height of his attainment, but it does seem that there is a place for them in the economy of the future, and our people will do well to fit them best for it.

It is not generally recognized in America to what extent Africa has progressed in late years. Here are some words of one of our consuls in South Africa with reference to his experience in traveling over a South African railway:

"I rode over one of the finest road-beds I ever saw, and well fenced, too, with the most substantially built telegraph connection I ever saw. I saw millions of fertile acres that require only a hoe and a little water. I saw a river that at its full runs between high banks that ought to be dammed at intervals, making a series of reservoirs."

He goes on at length describing the extraordinary progress of affairs which he witnessed.

The great advantage which Africa presents to the world today arises from the opportunity of applying at once to her conditions the sum total of our present progress and achievement. A few examples:

When Boston was built the sciences of hygienic sanitation, municipal engineering, ornamental decoration were unknown. The city was laid off on narrow, crooked lines, and in many respects has ever since, to use the language of one of her own poets, been "following in the footsteps of the calf."

Now, however, the world has reached such a stage in the progress of science and art that the opportunity afforded in Africa

of building magnificent foundations for the superstructure of the future has been unparalleled in history.

This principle applies to every phase of life. Colleges, like the Gordon College at Khartoum, spring up, and apply to existent conditions all the results of modern educational progress. The organization of government can reap the fruits of the experiences of all nations and sow the seeds of a yet higher attainment. Religion, shorn of mediæval folly, takes root in virgin soil at the very time of a great incipient spiritual renaissance. In science, electricity, compressed air, all the latest inventions and most progressive methods can be installed from the beginning. No old buildings of wood must be torn down to make way for granite. No gas works need suffer bankruptcy from the adoption of electricity. There is no rubbish of an effete civilization to sweep away. The new bottle awaits the new wine.

It remains to sum up briefly several desiderata to the future progress and welfare of the vast regions which these railways are to open up:

1. Let agriculture be everywhere encouraged. A garden is as necessary to the new arrival as a house. This fact is not always as highly appreciated as it should be. Gold miners not infrequently almost starve over their gold bags because of neglecting this precaution. Let a hundred acres of food-stuff be brought into cultivation for every additional settler in a new land.

2. Let the large land companies, necessary as they are, encourage in every way individual enterprise. The individual is the unit of society. Repress or oppress him and society suffers. In new countries everything ultimately depends upon the individual colonist or laborer.

3. Let the smaller nations or governments be fairly and justly treated by the larger. The rule for guidance should be that of industry and honest effort. Mere conquest for gain of a more powerful over a less powerful nation is robbery—a crime against God and man. If a small nation is really doing its honest duty, let it be encouraged and supported by the larger.

4. Let the native populations be justly and humanely treated, every reasonable consideration being accorded their superstitions and ignorance, and government being adapted to their conditions, fully recognizing the inevitably slow character of social evolution.

5. Let every undertaking be fully and adequately supported by means entirely capable of accomplishing the end desired. Let not Africa become dotted with the ruins of abandoned enterprises.

6. Let it be remembered that commerce, railways, steamers, telegraphs, schools do more for conquest than any amount of guns and powder. Let force be only a *dernier ressort;* but when war becomes really necessary let it be terrible, short, decisive.

7. Let every influence be exerted to secure the adoption at the outset of the most improved methods and ideas, the result of the highest progress of today, in all the departments of activity in Africa. Send the best men, the best machines, the best methods, the best brains thither, and a civilization will surely arise there eclipsing all the achievements of modern times, fitly ending, as it seems to have begun, under the shadow of the pyramids, upon the banks of the Nile.—*Samuel Phillips Verner in "The Conservative Review."*

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## LETTERS FROM LIBERIA.

LONDON, *May 16, 1899.*

MY DEAR MR. WILSON: Have just spent nine weeks in Liberia. This is my third annual visit to that Republic, and each time I have made it a point, besides spending some weeks in Monrovia, to visit different portions of the country, so that now I have seen all the principal coast towns and centers, most of the principal towns and settlements on St. Paul river, and have also made some journeys into the interior away from the coast and rivers. My last trip occupied eleven days and took me as far as Cayresburg and Mt. Coffee, the latter place being nearly forty miles inland from Monrovia.

I am more and more favorably impressed with the possibilities of Liberia, provided its government can be strengthened in aggressive efficiency, its country be opened up, capital brought in, schools established for the education of youth, and its agricultural methods improved both in quality and variety of products.

The Sixty-sixth Annual Session of the Liberia Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church was held in Cape Palmas.

Sixty-six years is a long time in the development of missionary work. During those years there have been times of prosperity, especially before the war. At other times the work has scarcely held its own. In later years a large number of leaders in the church have died, and men have not come in, either from the schools or by emigration, to take their places. As a result, the good men who have remained had more than they could possibly do.

The session was made especially interesting by the celebration of the sixtieth anniversary of the founding of the Monrovia seminary, which has recently been reorganized under the name of the College of West Africa. It required several special sessions to hear the interesting addresses and letters which were made and received chiefly by and from persons who had received their education in that institution. It is very often the case that teachers struggling amidst difficulties in our mission stations do not realize how widely their work is to tell upon the destinies of men and of nations. Scores of men and women who have either passed away or who yet live in the Republic of Liberia and have had much to do in matters of government, education, and social life received their entire education from this school.

The conference was also signalized by a manifest growth in the *esprit de corps* of the ministers, and missionaries with a spirit of aggressiveness and unity received a large impulse. I appointed 95 ministers and teachers of various grades to their work. There is a church membership of over 3,000. The strongest single church is in Monrovia, where the congregation is entirely self-supporting, paying its own expenses, including the salary of its pastor, and, besides, giving about $200 a year to outside benevolent work. The doctrine of self-help is being thoroughly preached and as rapidly as possible practiced in Liberian Methodism. There are 22 stations among the raw heathen outside of the Americo-Liberian work.

Special emphasis is being placed on school-work. The College of West Africa, with President Camphor at its head, is our central school, where advanced classes are taught. We have a faculty of five. The departments include primary, grammar, college preparatory, college, normal, and some industrial courses of study. A class of 16 will graduate this year in the grammar courses, and most, I think, will go right on to the next course.

The school is thoroughly organized and graded, and when any scholar finishes its college course, his bachelor of arts will signify about the same as the ordinary American college. The enrollment will go beyond 125 this year, and of this number 40 are from the various native tribes of Liberia.

A great event was the arrival of our printing presses and equipment. The outfit includes a Hoe cylinder press, a good job press, paper-cutter, etc., and over 1,200 pounds of type, blank paper and ink enough for two years, and all necessary equipments of a first-class printing outfit. The outfit is worth $5,000, but, through the kindness of friends in securing discounts, cost me about $3,500. The whole shipment occupied the space of 23 tons on the steamship from New York and Liverpool. A ton in steamship measurement means 40 cubic feet. It required 24 stalwart native Kroomen two days to remove the outfit from the waterside to the printing-house. Our printing-house consists of one-story building, with a room 55 feet long and 20 feet wide. I had the pleasure of seeing the entire equipment in its place, and witnessed some work by the printers. Mr. F. N. Allen, of Little Rock, Arkansas, is superintendent in charge.

This new power for good in Liberia it was my privilege to formally dedicate and turn over to the printing department of the College of West Africa. President Coleman and his Cabinet, the United States minister, the secretary of the American legation, several consuls of other nations, and a large number of representative ministers and citizens, irrespective of church or politics, were present at the dedication. Before the formal prayer of consecration, addresses were made by President Coleman and several others. It was indeed an interesting event; no such valuable or complete printing outfit has yet been shipped to the west coast of Africa. Printing will be taught as one of the industries in the college, and there are ample provisions for doing various kinds of job work, besides printing a 32-page paper, magazine size, which is to be issued once a month and entitled the *New Africa*.

I am developing an industrial mission school on the St. Paul river, 25 miles from Monrovia. Here we have a large tract of land with a fine river frontage, where, if I can secure a properly qualified man and the means to support him, I want to have an experimental farm. Secretary Wilson, of the Department of

Agriculture, Washington, proffers cöoperation. Such a man, properly equipped and trained in one of our experimental agricultural stations in America, could in a very few years greatly improve the present agricultural methods in Liberia and be instrumental in introducing other agricultural enterprises of large benefit. The cultivation of rubber is simple and needs only some one to show the people how to do it; so of kola nuts and cocoa and various garden products and many kinds of fruits. I have never seen so many natural possibilities in the way of agriculture, and only a few of those are as yet touched. A good vegetable garden, with a competent man and two or three native boys to take care of it, would yield a handsome profit.

At this industrial school I propose to have schools of blacksmithing, carpentery, cabinet-making, &c. It is also my plan to develop the native skill. It is surprising what native men and women do in the way of making baskets, hats, hammocks, ropes, &c. Why not get their boys and girls into schools and teach them how to do those things systematically and at the same time get a thorough school education, and above all get fixed in morals and good character? We have already a class of 15 boys, and I hope this year to erect a blacksmith shop 20 by 30 feet in size and a carpenter and wood-working shop 20 by 30 feet. Both will have corrugated iron sides and roofs, the purpose being to build everything for permanence as we go. Friends in England have given me over $500 worth of tools and other equipments. The plan will be developed in proportion as I can secure the right kind of trained men to take charge of different departments and money can be secured to equip them.

There are but one or two places in Liberia where boys can learn a trade of any kind, and I have a profound conviction that such an institution as above outlined will in 20 years bring great results in developing industrial and commercial strength among the people of Liberia.

I am also opening primary schools in my churches, and, among other things, took out with me $1,500 worth of the latest and best school text-books. As the result of two years' effort, we have now over 1,200 people in these schools. Over 400 of them are native boys and girls from native African tribes. Among these latter are a fair proportion of the most promising pupils.

I shall require as many more school books. They are not given away, but are sold to those who are able to buy, and loaned to those too poor to buy.

Liberia needs just what any community of 25,000 people, white or black, similarly located and conditioned needs—primary schools for the children, advanced literary and industrial institutions for the rising youth, so that their agricultural possibilities be developed by intelligent practical efforts, and the country opened up to capital and enterprise irrespective of social or political prejudice. I was greatly pleased with the results of the outcome at Arthington, for example, 30 miles up St. Paul river, where, under the leadership of a few sensible, industrious, and moral men, a large community has been developed, with its church and its school, and its pleasant homes and its splendid coffee farms. The school is entirely self-supporting. Seventy-five cents a month is paid by each scholar. Now the school has to be enlarged to accommodate at least 100 pupils. Unfortunately coffee has been the only thing cultivated for profit in Liberia, and that has gone far down in price. What is needed now is to hold on to the coffee, but at the same time devolop other garden products which will grow equally as well.

During my 11 days' journey I saw at Bensonville, Crozierville, Careysburg, and other places the same results of intelligent, honest labor. What Liberia wants is simply more of that kind, with the addition of improved methods and large variety in crops, and the training of a rising generation in intelligence, morality, and in the dignity and value of labor.

I have appointed ten excellent colored men and women from our advanced schools in the Southern States, and every one of them is happy and doing excellent work. I am especially pleased with the cordiality with which our ministers and teachers welcome these reinforcements, and I am urged to secure, and could immediately appoint to work, at least a score more of the same class of workers, who are willing to give themselves to church and educational work without mixing in political agitations.

Sincerely yours,

J. C. HARTZELL.

GREENVILLE, SINOE COUNTY, LIBERIA, *May 8, 1899.*

Mr. J. ORMOND WILSON, *Secretary American Colonization Society.*

DEAR SIR: We have just passed through a very busy and vigorous political campaign, which came to a close on Tuesday last, the 2d instant.

The first Tuesday in May every two years is the day fixed by the Constitution of this Republic for holding elections for the President, Vice-president, and members of the legislature. These are the only officers under the Constitution that are elected. All others are nominated by the President and confirmed by the Senate.

In the campaign just closed there were two political parties represented—the one known as the "National True Whig party" and the other the "National Union party."

The True Whig party is a very old one, comparatively speaking. It antedates the present Republican party of the United States. Its principles were brought to this country by immigrants who came here between 1847 and 1856, about the time its name was famous in the political history of America. Its first great leader or champion in Liberia was the Hon. S. Benedict, who was the first Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Liberia. Before coming to this country he was a slave of William Savage, of Georgia, but was manumitted and came hither, through the assistance of your Society, on the ship *Indiana*, which arrived at Monrovia on the 19th of August, 1835. He was president of the convention in 1847 that adopted the Declaration of Independence as well as the Constitution of Liberia.

He ran for the Presidency as a Whig against J. J. Roberts, the first President of Liberia; but, being defeated—some say counted out—he was appointed by President Roberts to the high position of Chief Justice. About this affair an anecdote is related which, it is said, gave the motto to the True Whig party. It is said that Mr. Benedict was actually elected President, but he was counted out in favor of Mr. Roberts; on account of which Mr. Roberts said to Mr. Benedict that if he would not push his claim to the Presidency any further he would commission him Chief Justice. Mr. Benedict seemed to doubt Mr. Roberts' sincerity. "O, bosh," said he, "you are talking only to hear yourself talk, Mr. President, for I am sure you are an adept at words."

Their conversation ended for the time being. In a few days afterwards President Roberts called on Mr. Benedict, carrying in his hand a parchment. "What is that you have in your hand, Mr. President?" inquired Mr. Benedict. "It is your commission as Chief Justice," replied President Roberts. "That being true, Your Excellency will allow me to retract the remarks I made to you the other day," said Mr. Benedict, "for I find you to be a man not only of *words*, but also of *deeds*." From that day to the present the motto of the True Whig party has been "*Deeds, not Words.*"

In principles the True Whig party is very much like the Republican party of America, with, perhaps, the exception that it advocates a "tariff for revenue only" instead of a "high protective tariff."

The "Union party" is a new one. It sprang into existence about three years ago, and would very forcibly remind you of the "Populist or People's party" of the South and Southwest in America.

It is made up of Whigs and Republicans, principally of the latter, a party that was in existence when the writer came to Liberia about four years ago. But it is a coming party, built upon a broad and substantial platform, and is destined to cut quite a figure in the politics of Liberia.

President Coleman has been reëlected for a term of two years and the writer is again elected to the House of Representatives.

Party lines were closely drawn in every county of the Republic, and it is thought that the Union party has done good work in each one, with the exception of Sinoe, and perhaps carried one or more of them by a very large majority. At all events, the next legislature will be a mixed one—partly Whigs and partly Unionists.

Two opposing candidates were nominated for the Presidency. President Coleman was renominated by the Whig party and Col. A. D. Williams, of Monrovia, by the Unionists. The respective partisans rallied to the support of their chieftains. Vigorous canvassing by both parties was instituted.

Both of them are good men, possessing rare talents and abilities. By dint of push and perseverance Mr. Coleman has worked his way, step by step, from the position of constable, through all the gradations of public or official life, to that of President. He

is a man who does not shrink at obstacles, nor yield to circumstances. He came to Liberia by the aid of the American Colonization Society, when he was ten years of age, and is now one among the richest men of Liberia.

Mr. Williams has filled nearly every other position than the Presidency, both civil and military, in the gift of his country. His educational labor has had and is having a telling effect for good throughout the whole length and breadth of this country. He is also one among Liberia's bravest soldiers and wisest statesmen. His father before him was a great man in the early days of Liberia, and his name goes far toward helping to make its history. Col. Williams is a noble son of a noble sire.

It would not matter materially to which of these two gentlemen's hands the reins of Government were committed, for both are able and good men. The administration of either would close like that of Jefferson, with "equal and exact justice to all men, of whatever state or persuasion, religious or political; peace, commerce, and honest friendship with all nations, entangling alliance with none."

Very respectfully,

R. A. WRIGHT.

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## THE NEGRO PROBLEM.

The alarming outbreak of passion developed by the late campaign in the State of North Carolina, which had hitherto been considered notable for the kindly feeling supposed to exist between the races, is a striking illustration of the gravity of the Negro problem. Despite the wonderful transformations of the past thirty-five years, this question is no nearer satisfactory settlement than when Lincoln issued the emancipation proclamation. The remedies proposed so far have all failed to work out the fulfillment which their propounders prophesied. Emancipation, enfranchisement, and education have, severally or conjointly, been confidently predicted as adequate measures of relief; and yet with each of these experiments the problem, instead of yielding to the treatment, seems to take on added difficulties. We have apparently reached the limit of human wisdom. This conviction was clearly expressed by Mr. Henry Watterson sev-

eral years ago, when he declared that he had stopped speculating and had gone to praying. The North Carolina episode illustrates more clearly, perhaps, than any occurrence since the overthrow of the reconstruction régime, the spirit and determination of the dominant race and the utter helplessness of the weaker element in the contest. The situation does not call for bitter abuse or vile epithets, although, on first impulse, it is almost impossible to suppress them. It is only a calm, dispassionate, judicial consideration of all the facts and factors involved that can be of any avail. Much of the evil of the situation inevitably grows out of the juxtaposition of two races widely different from each other in physical peculiarities and cultivated faculties. After exercising all possible prudence and caution, there will still remain a large residuum of difficulty. But unless both races put a check upon the wild license of passion, the catastrophe will be too appalling for the imagination to depict.

Although the Negro would doubtless be made the immediate victim, the permanent evil effect would fall ultimately upon the white race. A kind Providence has endowed the Negro with a patient, long-suffering, non-revengeful disposition, which, to the self-assertive Anglo-Saxon, is simply incomprehensible. The arrows of insult, injury, and outrage are absorbed by the Negro's generous nature and rendered nugatory and harmless; on the other hand, the Anglo-Saxon forges them into thunderbolts of wrath and hurls them back at the aggressor with the red hand of vengeance. The capacity of the colored race to receive insult, ridicule, and irony as do the trees and animals is doubtless, to the white man, an amazing grace, but to the Negro it is assuredly a saving one. If the Negroes in Wilmington had not possessed this quality, there would hardly have been one of them left to tell the story. This is undoubtedly the one great contribution which this race has to offer to the general culture of the human spirit. The qualities of meekness, humility, and forgiveness of injury lie at the basis of the Christian religion, albeit they are despised and rejected by a Christian civilization. The scriptural prophecies that "they that conquer by the sword shall perish by the sword," and "the meek shall inherit the earth" are working out their fulfillment under our daily observations.

The Negro possesses the power of quick recovery, and can rapidly emerge from any commotion and go on plodding the

weary tenor of his way; but with the white man this is not so. The evil reputation which attaches to the place and people, as well as the reflex action upon the character, will be difficult, if not impossible, to eradicate. A striking analogy is drawn by Goldsmith in his "Elegy on a Mad Dog:"

"This dog and man at first were friends;
But, when a pique began,
The dog, to gain some private ends,
Went mad and bit the man.

The wound it seemed both sore and sad
To every Christian eye;
And while they swore the dog was mad
They swore the man would die.

But soon a wonder came to light
That showed the rogues they lied;
The man recovered from the bite,
The dog it was that died."

Do the whites of the South not know that in the final adjustment of the cause and consequence the victims of violence and outrage will suffer less than the perpetrators of them? A law of physics applies with almost scientific exactness to society: Action and reaction are equal and in opposite directions.

The late Mr. Douglass was fond of prophesying that in course of time the so-called Negro problem would be looked upon as essentially the white man's problem. Daily occurrences are making the truth of this prophecy more and more apparent. The white race represents the dominant element in all parts of this country, and is responsible to the enlightened conscience of the civilized world for the suppression and punishment of crime, the maintenance of law and order, and the continuance of a peaceful régime. That the Southern whites are not satisfactorily fulfilling this function is shown by the fact that one can scarcely pick up his daily paper but that he is shocked by accounts of lawless mobs wreaking summary vengeance upon helpless and defenseless citizens, many of whom are subsequently proved to be innocent of crime. The severity of the shock is relieved only by the frequency of the occurrences.

The local and national conscience has become seared. Mr. W. Laird Clowes, an Englishman, was sent to this country sev-

eral years ago by a London newspaper to study and report upon the race problem in the South. It should be said, in fairness, that Mr. Clowes' mission was not a part of the anti-lynching crusade, and therefore he did not bring to the inquiry a mind prepossessed with the existence of a special evil. In his book, "Black America," we nowhere find any evidence that he is unduly inclined toward the colored race. Here is the result of his observation:

"And here let me say at once, deliberately and without hesitation, that if the social crimes and outrages which are daily occurring in the Southern States were taking place in any semi-civilized part of Europe, and were only half as well advertised as the events in Bulgaria were, the public sentiment of Europe would at once insist upon, and would within six months secure, reform, even at the cost of war."

We have seen the nation's hands held up in pious horror at the crimes and outrages perpetrated in Bulgaria, Armenia, and Cuba, but with scarcely a word concerning its own domestic disturbances, which are as barbarous in character and as frequent in occurrence as those which the Government has solemnly decreed to blot out by a holy war. Thus nations, like individuals, find easement of conscience by "compounding for sins they are inclined to by damning those they have no mind to." This is the white man's side of the question. That he is the inevitable ruler of the South no one any longer questions. But is he not answerable to the enlightened opinion of mankind to rule in justice and equity? If he does not protect life and property and maintain law and social order, what becomes of his boasted right to rule? The doctrine of "the divine right of race" is no more sacred or acceptable to the common sense of mankind than its twin relative, the "divine right of kings," but both must be submitted to the human test of practical fitness and efficiency. Although the white race has the power, it must prove its right to rule by ruling right.

On the other hand, the Negro finds himself clothed with certain abstract rights whose concrete fulfillment is an impossibility. Concrete political equality, or equality in any practical sense, between the two races is as impossible as it would be between those members of the human family under sixteen and those over sixteen years of age. According to Professor McGee, in a recent con-

tribution to *The Forum*, human progress may be divided into several stages—savagery, barbarism, semi-civilization, civilization, and enlightenment. If we adopt this scheme of social evolution the average status of the American Negro would fall at least two stages below that of the whites. To predicate equality under these circumstances would be to discount the value of civilization and to discourage the Negro in his strivings for larger development. This conclusion by no means discredits, nor should it discourage, the Negro race. If history teaches any clear lesson, it is that the cultivated races are superior in all tests of practical power to the undeveloped races. Let us not forget that the equality sought to be upheld is in the arena of political control. This is the sphere in which the Anglo-Saxon race manifests its peculiar genius. Domination seems to be in the direct line of its destiny. The Englishman as clearly manifests his superiority over the Hindoo or the Chinese as the Roman did over the Gaul or the Briton. This predominance is not an attribute of blood, but arises from the practical efficiency derived from the discipline of civilization.

The white race is ensnared in the meshes of its own law. The Negro is the incidental beneficiary of this entanglement. Circumstances have forced him into a political scheme that was not intended to cover his case. Our government is founded upon the political axiom that government derives its just powers from the consent of the governed. Political equality follows as a corollary from the central proposition. The Declaration of Independence and the Constitution of the United States rest upon this fundamental bed-rock. History affords no more anomalous spectacle than the Negro appealing to the white man to live up to his profession of principles and enforce his own laws, and the white man frankly admitting his inability or his disinclination to do so. Painful experience teaches us that a written constitution can be effective only in so far as it harmonizes with the more fundamental constitution of human nature as at present developed. A theory of government counts for little against the interests and wishes of a powerful people.

The anti-slavery contest developed two classes of men with diametrically opposite views on the question of human slavery, who openly advocated the overthrow of the Government because it did not accord with their cherished notions. Race

passion swiftly leaps beyond all documentary limitations and cannot be brought within bounds by any power at the disposal of the Government when the alarm of "Negro domination" or "social equality" is sounded. Although these terms are not definable according to the ordinary import and meaning of words, nevertheless they are sufficient to evoke the deepest animosities of the Anglo-Saxon nature. They arouse what Bismarck once called the "*furore Teutonicus*," against which the poor Negro is as helpless as the chaff before the fury of the wind.

The absolute certainty that there is not the slightest danger of the wolf does not lessen the response to the cry of wolf, wolf, even though it be raised by the crafty and the cunning for personal or political ends. Perhaps in all the sweep of literature there can nowhere be found a more striking instance of the potency of an empty phrase. The whole race quickly solidifies at the sound of the tocsin, and its members are as ready to sacrifice their lives, if need be, upon the altar of a verbal shadow as a heathen before the shrine of his wooden god.

Is it not, therefore, wisdom on the part of the Negro to refrain from agitating those issues which inflame the mind of the white race against him and retard his progress along moral, mental, and material lines? Would this be a surrender of abstract right? Even so, it is only a graceful yieldance to the inevitable. What the Negro needs first of all is development, and there is the widest scope for this expansion outside of the field of politics or of intimate, familiar intercourse with the dominant race.

The Negro should generally accept self-effacement as a controlling political factor, even in those communities where his numerical preponderance confers upon him the abstract right. This policy should certainly be adopted in those instances where the material holdings of the race represent only an insignificant fraction of the substantial interests of the community.

The elective franchise is destined to be of inestimable benefit to the race if it is used wisely and with discretion. In a majority of the Northern and Western States the political parties are so evenly divided that the colored vote has decisive weight. Wherever possible this vote should be utilized to effect just legislation and wholesome public sentiment.

But to state the truth mildly, the Negro is not yet qualified to

exercise political control in State, town, or county, according to the standards of Western civilization. A knowledge of this truth on the part of the colored race is essential to its true development along those substantial lines which count for progress. Wherever the Negro has attempted to control the political machinery the result has always redounded to his detriment. The reconstruction régime in the South worked lasting injury to the colored race. The best talent of the population was diverted from productive and moral pursuits into the whirlpool of politics. The minds of the young were vitiated by looking with admiration upon corruption in high places. Animosities were engendered which will embarrass the progress of the race for generations to come; nor can it be said that the professional Negro politician, from the days of reconstruction until now, has been of any lasting benefit to his race. The alleged quadrennial trade in Negro delegates to the nominating Republican convention is the standing disgrace of our national politics.

In retiring from the active field of politics and directing the energy which has hitherto dissipated over the political area into productive channels, and striving to build up the people in moral, mental, and material directions, the Negro will not only be moving along the line of least resistance, but of the greatest usefulness also.

KELLY MILLER.

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## PLEA FOR COLONIZATION.

While there is a large percentage of irony in the very scholarly article of Mr. Miller, there is also much good advice to the colored race, as well as a very sensible fact stated when he says, "We have apparently reached the limit of human wisdom." I would say, in reference to Mr. Watterson's sentiment, if there was less "speculating" and more "praying" in respect to the Negro's place in human society, there would be better results, in reference to which a plain statement of a few cold facts may not at this present time be out of place.

"Before petition is made to any one for assistance to avert an existing calamity resulting from former conditions, it is just and right that we should ascertain why the former conditions existed and if they have been unjustly of our making. We

should make restitution as far as possible of our own selves, and if a way had ever been provided for such restitution, as well as if we had neglected or refused to follow this way, until we had canceled every obligation incurred in the transaction.

"Here is the precise proposition we need to investigate in relation to the white and colored races.

"In discussing this subject we should inquire why the former condition of the Negro existed in the United States, viz., that of slavery.

"In Divine Providence there are three modes of action: First, what is procured; second, what is permitted; third, what is prevented. We cannot believe that the Divine Being in his providence procured the slavery of such portion of the African race as came to America for this feature of the problem we are now dealing with, nor did he prevent it; therefore he must have only permitted it; and as he is a being of infinite wisdom and goodness, it must have been permitted by him for good and wise purposes. What were these good and wise purposes? Christianization evidently, and with it all the advantages which are attached to Christianity. But why permit them to be brought here? Is not the language of the New Testament, 'Go ye,' etc.? Yes; but the white race can only live in some parts of Africa, and the parts of that continent where they cannot live are the very ones from which the slaves came to this country.

"By these very people, most capable of enduring the climate of Africa, when Christianized and educated, must this portion of Africa be redeemed from barbarism and idolatry. Hence the American Colonization Society. Hence the procuring by that Society of a tract of land in Africa for colonizing such persons of African descent from the United States as education and some refinement had brought to see the hopelessness of their political condition in this country.

"England and France had been trying to obtain a station at Cape Montserrado for a hundred years or more without success. The Negro should read the history of the early settlers in Liberia, of the great struggle they had to maintain an existence, in a little book called the *New Republic*, published by the American Protestant Association, and they will be more in sympathy with this divine plan for ameliorating the condition of their race and giving to them in the land of their adoption the political privi-

leges which it seems impossible for them to have in the land of their birth. This is the only solution of the Negro problem. Have we neglected or refused to walk in it? Did not the Congress of the United States kick the petition of the American Colonization Society out of its halls of legislation when the Society asked for aid to carry out its plans? The North said: 'This is an effort of the South to get rid of their old and worn-out slaves,' and the South declared it to be a project of the North to dispossess them of their property. Then God arose and rescued the slaves from their masters by slaying young men and old men, North and South, until blood was shed and resources taxed to five times the value of every slave in the country and transportation to the African continent with six months' provision for every living soul of them.

"By this blood, by this treasure, by enfranchisement, by education, the white man has canceled every obligation incurred. He will go no further. He will not be ruled by the Negro, nor can the Negro ever hope for social equality with the white race. He is free to go; he is free to stay; yet in the words of Mr. Miller, it may be sadly, but truly, said: 'The problem will "take on added difficulties," nor will the Negro find a way out of these difficulties until his face is turned toward African colonization as the Canaan of his deliverance from what will always be to him more or less Egyptian bondage.'"

W. H. Pritchett.

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## THE IMMEDIATE FUTURE OF THE KONGO.

We suspect that the failure of the first attempt to found an India upon the Kongo will in no long time be publicly admitted. King Leopold II, who, though he inherits some of the Coburg kingcraft, is not a really able man, deceived by confidence in his own great wealth and by the incurable continental idea that anybody can make money in the tropics if he is only hard enough, undertook an enterprise wholly beyond his resources, and, by making revenue instead of good government his end, spoiled the whole effect of his first successes. The Kongo Free State, covering a million square miles—that is, as large as India—and containing a population supposed to exceed forty-two mil-

lions, was committed by Europe to his charge in absolute sovereignty, and at first there appeared to be no resistance. Steamers and telegraphs and stations are trifles to a millionaire, and there were any number of Belgian engineers and young officers and clerks eager for employment. The weak point of the undertaking, inadequate resources, soon, however, became patent to the world. The king had the disposal of a few white troops, but they were only Belgians, who suffer greatly in tropical warfare, and his agents had to form an acclimatized army "on the cheap." They engaged, therefore, the fiercest blacks they could find, most of them cannibals, paid them by tolerating license, and then endeavored to maintain their own authority by savage discipline. The result was that the men, as events have proved and as the king seems in his *apologia* to admit, were always on the verge of mutiny, and that the native tribes, with their advantage of position, numbers, and knowledge of the forest and swamps, proved at least as good fighters as most of the forces of the Kongo State. So great, however, is the intellectual superiority of white men, so immeasurable the advantage involved in any tincture of science, that the Belgians might still have prevailed but for the absolute necessity of obtaining money. They could not wait for the growth of resources under scientific taxation, such as will follow Mr. Mitchell Innes' financial reforms in Siam, but attempted to obtain them from direct taxation and monopolies, especially that of rubber. Resistance was punished with a savage cruelty which we are quite ready to believe was not the original intention of the Belgians, but which could not be avoided when the only mode of punishing a village was to let loose black cannibals on it to work their will, and which gradually hardened even the Europeans, and the consequence was universal disloyalty.

The braver tribes fought with desperation, the black troops were at once cowed and attacked by their opponents, the black porters and agriculturists became secret enemies, all were kept in order by terror alone, and we all see the result. The Belgians are beaten; their chiefs, Baron Dhanis and Major Lothaire, are believed to be prisoners, and the vast territories of the far interior, where alone rubber can now be obtained, are already lost. Black soldiers have mutinied in the field, and it is doubtful, if the rebels press on, whether all signs of Belgian sovereignty will

not disappear. The king, with a coolness which will be called courage or obstinacy, according to the critic's view of his character, declares that he shall go on, and that all will be recovered; but we believe he deceives himself. The administration on the spot is tainted by the history of its cruelties and its failures, and there are not the means in Brussels of replacing it by competent officials, or of supplying them with the considerable means required for what must now be a deliberate reconquest. If no change is made, the internal never-ending war will go on, all progress will be brought to a final end, and the mere necessity of getting money out of the limited area it is now possible to reach will make taxation so severe that we shall hear either of the depopulation of whole districts, or of a murderous popular insurrection on the San Domingo scale and plan. The greatest experiment ever made in Africa has in fact failed, and failed discreditably.

Under these circumstances it seems clear that the only reasonable course is to allow a great power to step forward, buy out the Belgians, and recommence the experiment from the beginning. The best power for the purpose would be the British, because we could enter the vast derelict territory from both sides, because we could employ both Soudanese and Indians in the work of pacification without relaxing their discipline, and because we understand how to levy taxes without oppression and without destroying all the springs of industry. Even Negroes will grow rich under our rule, and we alone of the peoples have the art—it is a very strange one—of restraining depotism within the precise limits beyond which it produces instinctive popular resistance. We have never so irritated a people, not even the Matebele, that they would not accept our pay. It is, however, better that we should not accept the Kongo. We have the Nile, the Niger, and the Zambesi already on our hands, and recklessly profuse as we are of civil lives and demand for competent and esurient lads, though the supply never ceases, may yet exhaust our resources of educated men. Moreover, it is not well, at all events until the English-speaking races have grown to their full stature, to seem to wish to monopolize the subject regions of the world, or to make of our wealth an apparently immovable barrier to the natural ambitions of all the hungry in Europe. It will be far better to let the French have the State

on condition that they cede to us the strip of land necessary for communication between the countries. With its million square miles of area and its forty-two millions of population, the Colonial party will feel that they have at least acquired an estate equal to their ambition and capable of rewarding the energies they believe their people to possess. The patronage will be very large, and, owing to the vastness of the area, very imposing, while the estates to be sold for planting and general exploitation will make Paris and Marseilles feel suddenly enriched. The French, too, will govern fairly well. They have not the vivifying power of the English, but they build handsome tropical cities, they establish and obey reasonable codes, and, though their hands are not clean in the matter of forced labor, they are willing to suppress slavery. Above all, they do not hate the Negroes as the Germans do or despise them as the British and Americans do; but in Guadaloupe and in the French Kongo they show a disposition when they are tractable to treat them as rather adult children. They have good black soldiers and Arabs to employ in pacification, and, though terribly jealous of trade rivalry, they do not object to their subjects growing rich. Their rule will, in fact, be a great advance on the savagery which formerly prevailed upon the Kongo, and a still greater advance upon the Belgian régime, which, unless many independent reporters are in a conspiracy to deceive, is in principle the ancient rule made more terrible and cruel by the use of the irresistible instruments of civilization. A Kongo savage was governed by savages; he is now governed, as Macaulay said of the Bengalees under Verelst, by evil genii.—*London Spectator.*

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## THE HINTERLANDS OF CAPE PALMAS.

A party of four men—namely, Messrs. S. W. Seton, Charles Lark, Thomas Sprivy, and George H. Clark—left Hoffman station, Cape Palmas, on the 5th of April, 1898, for our hinterland, to explore that section of our county on the Cavalla river.

We started from the cape at 7 o'clock p. m., and walked down to Half Graway and slept there.

We left Half Graway on Wednesday, the 6th, passing through

Half Cavalla, and reached the river Cavalla late in the evening, and slept at Kablake, at the mouth of the river.

On Thursday, the 7th, we left Kablake for Woteke. Here we had the pleasure of meeting Senator Dennis, and enjoyed an encouraging conversation with him, chiefly relative to the development of the rich and numerous resources of our county. With mutual encouragement we parted; Senator Dennis started for home and we up the river. On our way to Webo, the place of our destination, we were obliged to put up in the following intervening places: Hedie, at the Hon. F. W. Proud's farm; Gbodobo, Drury station, occupied by Mr. J. A. K. Russell.

We left the last place on Monday, the 11th, for Bohlen station, at Webo, and on our way at midday we unfortunately encountered a furious storm from the east and northeast, accompanied with lightning, thunder, and tremendous torrents of rain, so much so that we were thoroughly wet and shivered with cold. We reached Webo at 8.30 p. m. Thursday, the 14th, we visited Fiii, a Webo village at the falls, and discovered what looked like silver streaks or ores in large and hard granite rocks. This requires machinery for crushing purposes.

Having prospected at Webo for three days without further success, we left for Tuo on Wednesday, the 20th, and spent four days there, enjoying the Negro's usual hospitality towards strangers coming to this community. Here we found no minerals, but the soil is extremely rich and adapted to the growth of all sorts of tropical fruits and vegetables.

Leaving here, we passed through Nyeteabo to Ketiebo. Here we spent 16 days, being detained and afterward defrauded by a man who promised to be our guide to Panh country, since he was doing business there as a merchant. While waiting for our pretended guide an interesting incident occurred in the form of a play called "The Elephant Sham Hunting Exercise." In this play a stout and stalwart man was dressed in long grass garments from head to foot; his face, nose, eyes, and mouth were covered by a hollow wooden false-face, the top part of which was decorated with long shaft-feathers, mounted by a figure of an elephant made of fine-grained, solid wood carved and polished; this constitutes the feigned elephant, with all its horrible and grotesque appearance, before which women and children run. While this enormous figure was roaming up and down

in one part of the town, a party of elephant huntsmen came out armed with guns, cutlasses, gun-bags, &c., hunting for him, and attacked and discharged all their guns at him; then he pretended to have been shot and to fall down dead, after which all the men, women, and children began to dance around him.

While still waiting for our guide, another quite interesting incident took place, which was the killing of a leopard by a man who borrowed our gun, went a short distance from the town, found the leopard lying on a fallen tree across the road that leads from the town to the farm, asleep, and shot him dead.

The news that the man had shot a leopard, it not yet being known that he killed him instantly, startled the whole town at first with an excitement which, when better understood later on, resulted in rejoicing and triumphant singing and dancing throughout the whole night. On the following day the dead animal was carried to the capital, where the representatives of all the towns of that entire tribe congregated, according to their custom. There they held a public grand festival over the dead leopard. Finally he was cut into four parts, and the meat was distributed among the soldiers of their several towns, who cooked and consumed the same.

This was done because the leopard is regarded as their enemy. Having been detained by our host and guide in suspense for sixteen days, he finally came out and said plainly that for some reasons he could not go with us to Panh. He not only thus disappointed us, but embezzled the money for our traveling expenses deposited with him.

There is a primeval forest that divides the tribes living about a hundred miles from the seaboard from those of the vast plateau region. This belt of unbroken forest extends along the whole West Coast of Africa, abounding with all sorts of hard, valuable wood, suitable for various purposes. There the stately and gigantic oak, towering over its neighbors, defying the fierce storms and ravages of time, dyewoods of many varieties, and hardwoods, such as are selling at a high price in the English markets, are to be met with abundantly. Small sticks of fine shape for umbrella sticks and walking canes can be had on all sides. A great variety of creepers, profusely yielding the milky juice for India rubber, which could be extracted for thousands of

years to come without exhausting the juice, because the creeper is not required to be cut, but simply to be tapped, and this process can be repeated either semi-annually or yearly, according to the size of the creeper. I have been told that the trees that yield the gum copal are also plentiful here.

There is neither river nor stream of water large enough to require bridging to be met with in this wilderness during the dry season, though sufficiently watered with small streams for drinking and washing purposes.

There are comparatively few straggling and isolated hills to be seen, not higher than from ten to fifty feet, so far as I could see. No chain of hills or mountains is to be observed.

The soil is generally very fertile. The surface of the ground is a high table-land, with little of marshes and swamps; hence the land is better adapted to the growing of coffee, cocoa, and other tropical fruit-trees; but near the banks of the river and other streams it is suitable for sugar-cane growing.

The atmosphere is mild, dry, and genial; the sun does not shine with oppressive heat, nor is there excessive rainfall. Thus it favorably contributes to the healthy condition of the people as well as their cattle.

The Negro here is generally self-reliant, stalwart, developing a noble physique—the original, pure, and uncontaminated type of our primitive race. In his primitive condition he is almost like Father Adam and Mother Eve in the garden of Eden, scantily dressed with narrow strips of Manchester cotton cloth barely covering his nakedness. In this condition he is as perfectly satisfied as a European prince dressed up in his costly and fancy costume. He goes bare-footed, with head uncovered to the burning rays of the sun.

Their huts are built of bamboo, with roofs of conical shape, tied with a species of rattan, commonly called "country rope," and covered with bamboo thatch, the lower part of the roof being only four to five feet high from the ground, without any eaves attached to the same. The walls are made of clay; the ground floor is made of beaten clay, smoothly smeared.

Their house furniture consists of wooden bowls hung on the inside wall or roof, a few rude chairs and stools, and clay pots of their own manufacture, etc.

Their diet consists of plantains, cassada, etc., for their princi-

pal and regular meals and rice as a luxury. They indulge chiefly in bamboo wine and occasionally in palm wine, both cooling and pleasant, suitable to our climate, and therefore conducive to health.

Their amusement comprises the playing of musical instruments, playing and dancing at night.

They are very superstitious, freely indulging in fetichism, burying charms in the house floors or outdoors in front of the house to avert the pernicious influences of witchcraft, or wearing them on their persons to ward off the injurious effects of sickness or death.

The marked peculiarity of the government of these people, like that of all other Negro States in their primitive condition, is the blending of oligarchy and patriarchal government, wherein each clan or family is represented by its chief or headman, who voices the sentiments of his people; but the aggregate supreme power is vested in a few individuals collectively, a sort of democracy.

The staple products of these higher regions are too numerous to be enumerated here, but they have no outlet except a few elephant tusks that find their way to the Bereby coast, and hence that part of the country is called the "Ivory Coast." The following-named products are to be found among them: Shear butternuts, palm oil, palm kernels, rubber, gum copal, piassava, camwood, hides of all descriptions, monkey skins, cattle of all sorts, poultry of various kinds, ivory of the best quality and size, mahogany of all varieties, and rich mineral deposits.

To open up these closed-up regions to the commercial world is to virtually make of Cape Palmas the emporium of Liberia, if not of the entire western coast of Africa, for there are 50 or more tribes who have not as yet contributed one item to the commerce of the world and who will be brought to the front to perform their part in the trade.

This region, being higher than those nearer the coast and having less extensive marshy tracts of low land, is hence free from noxious effluvia. During my 51 days traveling in these higher districts I never for one day felt unwell; so healthy was it that neither invalids nor incurable chronic diseases were met with in our journey.

The Cavalla, the longest if not the widest of the Liberian rivers, is destined to be the main artery of communication with

the upper regions of Maryland county for the purpose of fully developing and conveying to the seaboard the immense resources of this part of our beloved country. The mouth of this watercourse is about half a mile wide. Its source and length are yet unknown, because it has never been fully explored. Its watershed is generally reported to be common with that of the River Niger, but this has not been proven yet.

There is a long-felt need and constant desire to establish some sort of communication, either by land or water, between the river and the city of Harper by the means of a railway or wagon road for the purpose of transporting produce from the river overland, say from Ashtonville, by way of Philadelphia settlement, to the city.

This will supersede the necessity of transporting our products and commodities by sea during the bad season, lasting from the month of May to the end of August, which method is a great risk, both to life as well as merchandise so transported.

We invite all the Negroes in the United States of America to come with their capital and invest the same in the full development of the immense resources of nature here yet untouched, which some 50 or more different tribes have had in their custody from time immemorial and which they are now ready to contribute as their quota to the world's commerce.—*S. W. Seton in the Cape Palmas Reporter.*

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## THE ISLAND OF TRINIDAD.

No sketch of Trinidad would be complete without considerable prominence being given to its wonderful pitch lake. This celebrated lake of asphalt has been the theme of every traveler to Trinidad, from Sir Walter Raleigh to the late Canon Kingsley. It has been granted for thirty years or more by the Imperial government to the New Trinidad Lake Asphalt Company. Its area is about 114 acres, and it has been found, where it has been possible to measure it, to have varying depths from 10 to 150 feet. One can walk or ride over the whole surface without danger of sinking except in the center, where the asphalt is soft and its depth is unascertainable. It is a veritable lake of asphalt, semi-viscous in all parts, resuming its natural level after a short

interval where excavations are going on, and it is situated 138 feet above sea-level. The asphalt is dug from the surface and thrown into trucks which run upon a tramway laid on the inside edge of the lake. After about 48 hours the traces of a day's digging are scarcely to be noticed, the holes having filled up again with fresh asphalt. The loaded buckets of asphalt are carried by an overhead cable railway to the end of a pier which stretches 1,700 feet out to sea, and the asphalt is dumped into the steamers and sailing vessels which lie on both sides of the pier. Some idea of the capacity of this loading plant may be gathered from the fact that in the month of May, 1897, more than 20,000 tons of asphalt were loaded by it. The total quantity of asphalt exported during the last ten years has been very nearly 900,000 tons.

The bulk of this asphalt is laid in pavements and it can even be laid on an ordinary macadam road. It is also used in a variety of ways wherever cementing, waterproofing, and insulating of the best description is needed. Architects specify it for damp coursing, cellar or basement flooring, and flat roofing; engineers use it in bridge-building, both for waterproofing and traffic, culverts, tunnels, and subways; electricians find it the cheapest and most effective insulator known, and sanitary engineers avail themselves of its antiseptic properties in a number of ways. It is elastic, and can therefore be used in many circumstances where rigid cements are useless, and wherever allowance has to be made for contraction and expansion it is indispensable. It is employed in hundreds of tons for marine glue, and in its most highly refined state it is made into wafers for fastening tips on billiard cues.

Universal as the application of Trinidad asphalt may be, it would not account for the vast quantities used if it were not for the fact that as a paving material it has been found to excel all other asphalts. Twenty years ago there was not a street in the world laid with Trinidad asphalt, and now there are more than 2,500 miles of it in America alone.

The foothold which horses have on the Trinidad asphalt is obtained by the use of sharp sand and other "aggregate." It is the limestone which makes the rock asphalt slippery, and it is the sand in the Trinidad which gives foothold.

The residents of Trinidad, numbering over 252,000 souls, are

of mixed nationalities—English and Scotch among the sugar-planters, French and Spanish among the cocoa-growers, and Negroes and Venezuelans among the laboring classes. There are also many English merchants and a small number of Chinese shopkeepers. For hospitality and kindness the upper-ten, belonging to old French and Spanish families, are most distinguished, and nothing can be more delightful than an occasional riding tour of a week or so under their auspices through some of the beautiful and fertile districts of Trinidad, tapping the different estates and residences throughout the excursion. A most cordial and hearty welcome awaits one at every turn. It was on one of these excursions, when I was accompanied by my valued friend, the late Mr. G. Fitt, that a ludicrous incident occurred in which I participated. My hospitable host, knowing that I liked Heidsieck's monopole, ordered his servant to put two bottles of champagne on the ice at 5 o'clock, so as to be ready for 7 o'clock dinner. The stupid Negro took the order literally, opened the two bottles at the hour named, and emptied them into the ice-chest. I can assure you there was wailing and gnashing of teeth when the time arrived two hours later for handing around that excellent brand "bien frappé."

The Negroes in Trinidad, as throughout the West Indies, are thoroughly loyal and good-tempered. Many of them, of course, speak French or Spanish patois, and a very curious "lingo" it is, but English is generally spoken by them, and some of them speak it in a manner peculiar to themselves. When they say they "meet a thing lying on the ground," they mean they "found it."

The letter "*p*" and "*th*" are very troublesome to them. "Wasps" they call "wasts." They never go through a gate, but "trew a gate." When a Negro buys, say, tobacco, it is treepence an ounce. When he thanks you, it is "tank you," and a "thief" is a "tief."

They have a particular objection to the possessive "*s*." They never say Mr. Brown's house, but "Mr. Brown house," the "Gubnor house," and so on. All ladies, whether married or single, are called "Miss" or "Missy."

They always seem thankful for small mercies. If you ask a black woman her name, she is sure to say "Tank God," or "Praise God, my name is Victoria Jackman." There are hun-

dreds, aye thousands, of Victorias among the black race, so loyal are they to Her Most Gracious Majesty.

They are very fond of reading the Bible, and it is curious how these good-natured and simple-minded people occasionally interpret the Scripture text according to their own notions.

I know an old Negress who insists that "in the beginning the people was born blind, just like de kittens," and moreover she supports her contention by quoting from Genesis, "and the eyes of them both were opened." "How," says she, "dere eyes is opened if deh isn't shut before?"

Then there was a soldier in the West India regiment who said to the military chaplain in confidence, "Dat woman Eve is made de great mistake." "Why, how's that?" said the chaplain. "Why," said the soldier, "dat she isn't eat the oder apple first and lib forever."

The negro is very fond of hymn-singing, and many of the servants, like the Chinese who squeeze, and the European who receives a commission from, the butcher and baker and candlestick maker, are given to petty pilfering. A cleric who is now holding an important position in England once told me he had an old servant who did all her roguery to a hymn tune. She took loose money off his dressing-table to the tune of "Hold the Fort," and marched away with his eatables to that of "Onward, Christian Soldiers." He got to hate hymn tunes and dismissed the old lady. When she was leaving she turned around to him and said, with a smile: "The Holy Book say de Lord is not desert His own, and He is sure to open anoder door to me." With this pious sentiment she happily passed out of his life. In fairness I must say it has been my good fortune to meet and employ many excellent servants in Trinidad, and I have often wished I had some of them in England.

Sometimes when you question a Negro his reply, without being absolutely witty, is very droll.

Earthquakes are common in Trinidad, and we had rather a severe one at about four o'clock in the morning of one September day in 1889.

On my way into town I said to my groom, "Edward, did you feel the earthquake at four o'clock this morning?" "No, massa," he replied; "I went to bed at half past eight last night." He was evidently a heavy sleeper.

The black butler of a friend of mine on one occasion let fall and smashed into a dozen pieces a favorite reading lamp. When scolded he only showed his white teeth and said, "Massa, I never had much opinion of that lamp."

Another quaint remark was that of a Negro sitting in idleness by the side of the road, who was asked by the late Bishop Rawle, how he managed to pass his time. The Negro smilingly replied, "I sit in the sun, Massa, and let time pass me."

The Negro is very superstitious. He stands in terror of ghosts or jumbies or duppies, as he calls them. No offer of money would induce him to pass a graveyard after dark. To keep off the evil eye, children are made to wear black bead bracelets or necklets. They have many queer notions of this sort. Great numbers of them are firm believers in Obeah, a kind of fetichism introduced from Africa. These self-constituted Obeah priests, whose stock-in-trade consists of an image of wood with a clay head, glass eyes, and human hair and teeth, are much dreaded by the common people on account of their assumed mystic powers. When a peasant, stepping out of his hut one morning, finds a sealed bottle lying at the entrance, his heart sinks within him; some one—one of his enemies—is working "Obeah" on him. His children will get leprosy, his cows will dry up, his crop will fail—all will go wrong with him. So he goes to see some old impostor who professes to have mysterious power, and fees him heavily and constantly to prepare a charm which shall have the desired effect. There is no doubt that these impostors have a knowledge of poisonous herbs, and it is possible, if not probable, that they occasionally make use of them.

The law and the police come down mercilessly on these quacks, but such is the hold the superstition has on the minds of the ignorant that it will take years to shake their faith in it and generations to eradicate it.

There are a number of Negroes who have had some sort of education, who earn a precarious living by writing petitions for those people who wish to petition the governor. Some of them are remarkable productions. The following is a good sample, and was received by me ten years ago:

"Your petitioner now approaches Your Excellency to solict, crave, and implore an inestimable boon, being aware that you have been delegated, nominated, and constituted and appointed

by the united voice of the distinguished conclave or cabinet of our most gracious and illustrious sovereign lady the Queen to preside over her liege subjects as archon or executive in this far dependency of her vast dominions. Greater is Her Majesty than the famed Semiramis, Queen of Babylon, or her the Eastern Sheba, or the Egyptian glorious Cleopatra of celebrated memory, Antony's loved Queen. You see the Queen thou art representative of, the revel of whose drum circles the world and Sol or Phœbus never sets on. Pardon, Your Excellency, for the egotistical digression and resumes subject. Your petitioner's son, unfortunately by name Joseph Barrow, was sentenced for unlawfully cutting canes to six months' imprisonment; but, unlike Prometheus, who stole fire from heaven, her poor son was driven or induced by thirst to take of a reed containing saccharine along with another aqueous fluid element. Your petitioner now humbly appeals to that clemency, and trusts that Your Excellency may be pleased to take compassion on a poor destitute and bereaved widow, and restore your petitioner's son as did the prophet of Jehovah, the good Elijah, at Zarephath, the other widow's son, by remitting the time imposed. Had your petitioner the wings of Pegasus, fly she would to Parnassus to consult the Oracle of Delphi, to know of her son's liberation from Tartarus, suffering the punishment of Sisyphus or a second Tantalus.

"Your petitioner, as in duty bound, will ever pray."

You all know that providentially a black man's skull is considerably thicker than a white man's skull and that his hair is in reality wool. The black man is therefore able to work comfortably under a broiling sun, which would kill a white man. You all know also that in the tropics during the wet season terrible thunderstorms frequently take place. Well, the following story is current in Trinidad: An old man was sitting on a stool outside his cottage door when a tropical storm arose. The second flash of lightning knocked him head over heels off his stool. In a moment he was on his feet again, and shouted out at the top of his voice, "Hullo; who fire dat gun?"

Sir William Robinson.

## THE NEGRO QUESTION.

The Negro question is not of recent origin. The Iliad of our woes began in 1620, when Negroes were first brought to the colony of Virginia and sold as slaves. Slavery antedates history. The traffic of Europeans in Negroes existed half a century before the discovery of America. The very year in which Charles V sailed with a powerful expedition against Tunis to check the piracies of the Barbary States and to emancipate enslaved Christians in Africa he gave an open legal sanction to the African slave trade. When independence was declared in 1776 all the colonies held slaves. Slavery, said the late Senator Ingalls, disappeared from the Northern States "by the operation of social, economic, and natural laws," and "the North did not finally determine to destroy this system until convinced that its continuance threatened not only their industrial independence, but their political importance." In course of years "the peculiar institution "assumed a sectional character. The war between the States precipitated a crisis. President Lincoln began then the work of emancipation. "As Commander-in-Chief of the Army and Navy in time of war, I suppose I have the right to take any measure which may best subdue the enemy. * * * I view the measure [the proclamation] as a practical war measure according to the advantages or disadvantages it will offer to the suppression of the rebellion."

Senator Ingalls' testimony is as follows: "It may be admitted that the emancipation of the slaves was not contemplated by any considerable portion of the American people when the war for the Union began, and it was not brought to pass until the fortunes of war became desperate, and was then justified and defended upon the plea of military necessity." The Southern States ratified the amendments to the Constitution under penalty of otherwise remaining out of the Union and in political and military vassalage. The abolition of slavery has the assent of all sane men. Apart from ethical considerations, the subjection of the will, thought, or labor of a mature human being to the whim, caprice, or legal right of another is a gross political and economical blunder, unwise and indefensible. After emancipation came citizenship and enfranchisement of the freedmen, and

the punitive measures of reconstruction, which were the outcome of hatred, revenge, desire for party ascendency, and which no good man can now approve. No conquering nation ever inflicted on a conquered people more cruel injustice than the disfranchisement of the most capable citizens and the enfranchisement of liberated slaves. Certain great civil rights are the necessary and proper consequences of freedom. Suffrage is not a natural right, nor a legal, political, or general result of freedom or citizenship. The large majority of citizens do not and cannot vote.

The liberation of millions of slaves was the most gigantic and in itself one of the most beneficent acts of this century. Nothing is comparable to it as a triumph of the inalienable rights of man Humanity and justice demanded emancipation. Re-enslavement no one proposes or desires. All would rejoice in the prosperity and progress of the Afro-American, but with freedom came citizenship and suffrage, and these revolutionized our Government. Elements undreamed of were introduced as constituents. When the Constitution and the resulting Union were formed such a citizenship with franchise was not proposed, and if proposed would not have been listened to for a moment. The most infatuated negrophilist would not stultify himself by asserting that the union of States would or could have been consummated with the present incongruous, heterogeneous citizenship.

From these and other facts have been evolved what has been called the Negro problem. In the discussion it is best to eliminate all extraneous considerations, all issues which, as lawyers say, are "*dehors* the record." Government is a very practical business. The end is the securing and preserving the peace, safety, and well-being of the State. Civil government has no mission of general philanthropy. This problem, while of terrific importance in the South, where the black population is persistently congestive, is not, in its ramifications or direct effects, local or sectional. It affects every community and every section. It is of paramount national importance, complex, and involving social, moral, and political considerations. Its gravity cannot be exaggerated. It compels the attention and demands all the resources of patriots, philanthropists, statesmen. It thrusts itself, uninvited and unwelcomed, into religious and social assemblies and legislative councils. It is pervasive, continuing

vital. It is better to look it full in the face and give it dispassionate thought.

It need scarcely be said that in this discussion no hostile reference is made to individuals. Some Negroes are men of intelligence, integrity, patriotism, and stand on a plane with our best citizens in virtues and mental qualifications.* The gist of this contention is not based on special exceptions, but on the race in the aggregate.

We find in the South the presence of two distinct peoples, with irreconcilable racial characteristics and diverse historical antecedents. The Caucasian and the Negro are not simply unlike, but they are contrasted, and are as far apart as any other two races of human beings. They are unassimilable and immiscible without rapid degeneracy. Ethnologically they are nearly polar opposites. With the Caucasian progress has been upward. Whatever is great in art, invention, literature, science, civilization, religion, has characterized him. In his native land the Negro has made little or no advancement for nearly four thousand years. Surrounded by and in contact with a higher civilization, he has not invented a machine, nor painted a picture, nor written a book, nor organized a stable government, nor constructed a code of laws. He has not suppressed the slave trade, which, according to recent testimony, was never more flourishing. He has no monuments nor recorded history. For thousands of years there lies behind the race one dreary, unrelieved, monotonous chapter of ignorance, nakedness, superstition, savagery. All efforts to reclaim, civilize, Christianize, have been disastrous failures, except what has been accomplished in this direction in the United States.

It need not be disguised, for it is the ever-present, indisputable fact, that while there are alleviations of the unpleasantness, the relations between the Negroes and their co-citizens of the Caucasian race are strained and unsatisfactory. The friction, the prejudice, the cleavage, is not between Teutonic and Latin on the one side and Semitic on the other, nor between Saxon and Celt; it lies deeper, yields less readily to palliatives and remedies, and seems a matter of adjustment for the remotest

* Such an extraordinary man as Booker T. Washington is an honor to any country and worthy of unlimited confidence and regard.

future. It may help to understand the situation if we analyze its causes.

The great revolution suddenly transformed the customs, traditions, and conditions of the two races. Ownership gave way to freedom; compulsory and wage-unrewarded labor to absolute control of person; inequality, inferiority, subjection, to equality in the eye of the law; restrained locomotion to license of movement; kindness, interest in life, wealth, and physical welfare, to suspicion, distress, alienation. With property in man, regulated and enforced by laws in the interest of the master, labor was organized, directed by intelligent control to the development of agricultural resources and to the building up of a society which for refinement of manners, hospitality, and administrative capacity has elicited praise from disinterested travelers and investigators. The Negro, whatever he may have attained from the discipline of slavery, was not cultivated in intelligence, in manual skill, in forethought, power of initiative, in thrift, and the comforts and graces of home life. When freed, many were deluded by deceptive promises. They construed freedom to mean a division of property. Release from bondage led to intemperance and extravagance. Accustomed to control, unaccustomed to self-reliance, having others to think, plan, buy, and sell for them, to supply wants, to watch over them from the cradle to the coffin, many, when left to themselves, reverted to primitive habits, and became idle and worthless. Slavery had cursed the South with ignorant, unskilled, uninventive labor. Freedom did not change its character. The war, liberation of slaves, the sudden extinguishment of millions of property, bankrupted the South. Subsistence, recovery of means of living, rehabilitation, reorganization of those agencies which are, with intelligent work, the chief means of the wealth of civilized peoples became the first duty after hostilities ceased. This demanded steady, persistent industry, the change of former methods of agriculture, subdivision of farms, diversification of pursuits, opening of academies and colleges, and establishment of public schools for free and universal education. The contrast between the wealth and prosperity of the North and South presents an appalling picture. Naturally, the Southern people were in despair, and too often they vented their dissatisfaction, their rage, upon the irresponsible and unoffending Negro.

Slavery *per se* is not conducive to self-restraint of the enslaved, to high ethical standards, and the best types of human life. When the interest and authority of owners were removed and former religious instruction was crippled or withdrawn, the Negroes fell rapidly from what had been attained in slavery to a state of immorality, and, in some cases, to original fetichism. Some remained immovable in their former faith, but many, especially of the younger generation, of both sexes, gave proof of what degeneracy can accomplish in a quarter of a century. It is very common for them to divorce religion and piety. Artificial excitement, passionate emotion, was substituted for a faith which should be the product of a knowledge of and deep reverence for the Word of God. The danger of doing harm, or injustice, restrains my pen from disclosing a mass of disgusting material which could only shock sensibilities and stagger credulity. It is, besides, very easy to magnify our own virtues and others' vices. It is a prevalent mode of religiousness to repent of other people's sin, and to get superfluous merit by showing how others fall short of our attainments. Lowell said, "Everybody has a mission (with a capital M) to attend to everybody's else business," and "to make his own whim the law, and his own range the horizon of the universe." We have all read of the philanthropic Mrs. Jellaby neglecting home and children to sweeten the lot of the unregenerate natives of Borrioboola Gha. Still, testimony, to satisfy the most skeptical, could be adduced *ad nauseam*, from men and women doing educational and missionary work among the colored people, to show the deplorable depths into which multitudes have sunk.

Under the reconstruction acts there was a deliberate, predetermined attempt and purpose to put the freedmen in control of the Southern States. The late slaves were enfranchised; the best class of white men were disfranchised. The law presumes that a man or a State intends the logical consequence of acts done. In South Carolina, Mississippi, and Louisiana a majority of the voters, under the coerced policy, were Negroes. In other States they were so numerous that a combination with a small fraction of white voters would give the ascendency. In Virginia a coalition between non-taxpaying white people and Negroes, under skilled and bold leadership, accomplished partial repudiation of the State debt. Superadd to this undisguised Federal

intent the hungry adventurers who, as governors, judges, marshals, district attorneys, etc., flocked like vultures around the carcass, the horde of persons whose object was to pilfer and plunder, who played upon the ignorance, the superstitions, and gratitude of the Negro and made the credulous victims believe that their former masters were not to be trusted in elections, and you have a picture which imagination fails to realize. The Negroes, neither by apprenticeship nor political education nor intellectual culture, were prepared for the boon, and their unscrupulous friends organized them into secret societies and inflamed hopes and expectations of wealth and dominancy. Casper Hauser transferred from a dungeon to a throne would be a fit illustration of this defiance of all the teachings of the past. Suffrage was a wrong to the nation, to the States, to the white and black races, and especially to the Negro. Negro suffrage is a farce, a burlesque on elections, and only evil. The Negroes generally vote as puppets, as machines, and have not the remotest conception of the character or effect of the act they are ignorantly performing, or of the issues involved in the contest, or of the functions or duties of the officers voted for. Huxley says, "Voting power as a means of giving effect to opinion is more likely to prove a curse than a blessing to the voter, unless that opinion is the result of a sound judgment operating upon sound knowledge." This premature investiture of the Negro with suffrage reciprocally provoked alienation, bitterness, strife, and a resolute purpose on the part of the white people not to submit to the misrule and tyranny of ignorance and pauperism, but to resort to all necessary methods to defeat such a result.

It is needless to recapitulate the facts of many thousand years in order to raise the inference of racial difference between the Caucasian and the Negro. The immigration to our country is the proof of antagonism of races. The foreigner stays away from the South; so in a large degree does the Northern man. Notwithstanding the unsurpassed climate, the rivers and gulf and mountains, the fertile soil, the varied products, the hospitable welcome, the territory occupied by the Negro is persistently avoided. By the census of 1880 the proportion of foreign-born in all the former slave States was 3.5 per cent.; in the Northern States, about 20 per cent.; in eight Southern States, where the Negroes abound, there was in 1880 only 1¼ per cent. who were

of foreign birth. Mr. Lincoln, in 1858, in accounting for the repulsion, said: "There is a physical difference between the two races which will probably forbid their living together upon the footing of perfect equality. * * * I am not or ever have been in favor of making voters or jurors of Negroes, nor of qualifying them to hold office, nor of intermarrying with white people." Absorption, assimilation, is not to be dreamed of. The Negro is no nearer common fellowship, equality of association, than he was in 1865. Reconstruction measures, constitutional amendments, sword and bayonet, ecclesiastical anathemas, fulminations of press and pulpit, all power of church and state and public opinion, have not altered, cannot alter, what seems ineradicable. Race antagonism reaches deeper than political affiliation. If every Negro at the South were to vote the Democratic ticket in every subsequent election, the race division would remain the same.

Can these differences be effaced, alienations be healed, and overshadowing perils be averted? What concerns the patriot is to find a solution for this gigantic and appalling problem. The statesman has not yet arisen disposed to grapple with the problem or capable of suggesting a feasible and efficacious remedy. With the least hardship to the Negro, proper recognition of his rights as a man, due regard to the just ends of our Government, and the purposes of its founders, some scheme, if possible—wise, adequate, and comprehensive—should be devised. Whatever hitherto has been suggested has been met with opposition, and is justly liable to criticism. The most obvious remedy, and which has been tried with some success, is to uplift the race by means of public schools and proper religious instruction. All honor to the schools that train the youth into self-respecting manhood and womanhood! All honor for the efforts that are making to correct the debasement of slavery, to unite faith and practice, to infuse religious life with an ethical Christianity, and to form a moral basis for life and character? The crimes of both races in the South, pushed within the last few years to most brutal atrocities, show that there can be no safety for free institutions, no guarding against savage degradation, if either race be kept in crass ignorance. Both must suffer. It would be some relief from ballot-box evils and perils if the examples of New England and of Louisiana, Mississippi, and

South Carolina were followed by all the States. As "universal suffrage has no anchorage except in the people's intelligence," Massachusetts requires of voters a prepayment of taxes, and voting and office-holding are limited to those who can read the Constitution in the English language and write their names. What has been done by States, denominations, and individuals through schools is not discouraging to larger and better efforts, but is a stimulus to and an assurance of excellent results. The plantation system of the South, when land was in the hands of a few territorial magnates, was of very doubtful utility. A bold peasantry is a country's pride, and a small farmer should take the place of the large-landed proprietor. If the Negroes should acquire and hold more real estate they would be of more value as citizens, and would have increased interest in the stability of laws, enforcing of contracts, and the perservation of State honor. An enlargement of the number of those who have a solid stake in the well-being of the country would be adding to the ranks of natural supporters of law and honor and strengthening the true foundations on which the stability of a republican government must rest.

The congestion of the Negroes aggravates the difficulties and dangers of the problem. The area of the States holding slaves in 1860 was 901,740 square miles and of the Northern States, excluding Alaska, 2,123,860 square miles. By the census of 1890 the total population of Alabama, Arkansas, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, Tennessee, Texas, Virginia, and West Virginia was 37.3 per cent. of Negroes and 62.7 per cent. of whites; or, including Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, and Missouri, 30.7 per cent. of Negroes and 69.3 per cent. of whites. The African citizens are localized within a narrow area. A French statesman said, "Cross the Pyrenees and Africa begins." Cross Mason and Dixon's line, or the Ohio and Potomac rivers, and in a truer sense Africa begins, for south of that line the Negroes are massed. It has been nearly forty years since slavery existed, for no one born since 1860 was ever practically a slave, and yet freedom has not diffused the seven million and a half of Africans. Despite all the traditions of bondage, all the misrepresentations of modern literature, all the exaggerated accounts of intimidation and cruelty, the South remains the home of the Negro. When he is told

that equality, friendship, political sympathy, and good wages may be secured by passing an invisible geographical line, he persistently refuses to be seduced across. Senator Windom, of Minnesota, advocated a plan for distributing by assisted emigration, but nothing came of it. Senator Edmunds, in discussing the Chinese question, said: "The people of Massachusetts would not be hungry for an eruption of a million of the inhabitants of Africa, * * * because they believe, either by instinct or education, that it is not good for the two races to be brought into that kind of contact in that place. * * * The fundamental idea of a prosperous Republic must be a homogeneity of its people."

Colonization as a remedy has had many strong advocates. As early as 1800 the Assembly of Virginia, in secret session, instructed the governor to correspond with the President with the object of procuring a colony to which the Negroes could be sent. Jefferson began the correspondence. The legislature resumed the question and expressed its preference for "Africa or any of the Spanish or Portuguese settlements in South America" as the place "to which free Negroes or mulattoes and such Negroes or mulattoes as may be emancipated" might be sent or choose to remove. In 1805 the members of Congress were instructed to endeavor to procure suitable territory in Louisiana. In 1811, being asked his opinion as to a settlement on the coast of Africa, Jefferson replied that "nothing is more to be wished than that the United States would themselves undertake to make such an establishment on the coast of Africa." In 1813 the legislature openly and almost unanimously adopted for the third time resolutions similar to those of 1800. The same year the Colonization Society was formed, out of which grew the Republic of Liberia. President Lincoln, in his first annual message, December, 1861, referring to the two classes of liberated persons that might be thrown upon Congress for their disposal, recommended "that in any event steps be taken for colonizing both classes at some place or places in a climate congenial to them. It might be well to consider, too, whether the free colored people already in the United States could not be included in such colonization." Congress responded by voting one hundred thousand dollars for the voluntary emigration of freedmen from the District of Columbia to Haiti or Liberia, and later, in July, 1862, gave five

hundred thousand dollars for the colonization of Negroes in some tropical country beyond the limits of the United States. Mr. Lincoln continued to favor the policy of removal to another country, and five days after signing the above act he read to his Cabinet a proposed order for "the colonization of Negroes in some tropical country." Burdened with this great question, amid the exigencies of the mighty war, he continued to push the matter, and had Secretary Seward send a circular letter to England, France, the Netherlands, and Denmark, with regard to colonizing the Negroes in some of their tropical possessions. Offers came from the Danish West Indies, Dutch Surinam, British Guiana, Honduras, Haiti, New Granada, and Ecuador. Mr. Lincoln considered the offers from New Granada and an island off Haiti, and even sent a colony to the latter. Again, in his annual message in 1862, he argued for colonization, and asked for an appropriation, but, under the passions of the terrible conflict then raging, the Congress, instead of heeding the request, repealed the former act appropriating five hundred thousand dollars.

The Indians, against their will, were transported, by coercive measures, to allotted lands beyond the Mississippi; but that was before the modern discovery that the United States should grant "fraternity and assistance to all people" under other than republican governments, and that universal suffrage was the infallible expedient for civilizing semi-barbarous peoples. President Harrison, in his letter of acceptance, writing on another subject, says: "We are already under a duty to defend our civilization by excluding alien races whose ultimate assimilation with our people is neither possible nor desirable."

Remedies, strong and adequate and feasible, may not be found readily, but there are gentler and quieter agencies which may be used by both races to mutual advantage. The white people, in accepting the legitimate consequences of defeat, in vigorous efforts to restore antebellum prosperity, in establishing schools, in reconstructing shattered society, have done nobly, but they are not without sin. Laws, general and wise and impartial, on the statute book need for their enforcement a sustaining public opinion, but this has not always been forthcoming. Lawless and violent proceedings, always unnecessary and demoralizing, sometimes as brutal as the crimes which excited horror; harsh and unjust contracts; interferences in elections; false registra-

tion and counting of votes, and other acts which the plea of self-preservation did not justify, have evinced the harshness and injustice of dominant power, and have not tended to soften prejudices or make the situation more tolerable. Each race is fortunately improving in intercourse and in dealings with the other, and time and sober judgment are, in a sensible degree, removing causes of alienation which are not inherent and incurable.—*J. L. M. Curry in Appleton's Popular Science Monthly.*

## ITEMS.

THE COLLEGE OF WEST AFRICA—HISTORICAL STATEMENT.—One of the favorite and time-honored policies of the Methodist Episcopal Church is to establish, equip, and maintain schools in connection with the planting and growth of churches and missions. This is especially true where the State and the people themselves, through poverty and other unfavorable circumstances, are unable to provide such education. As far back as the colonial days of the Republic of Liberia the Methodist Church furnished schools simultaneously with the appointment of Christian missionaries. The earlier schools were naturally elementary in their character, but in the course of time, as the youth advanced, opportunities were not wanting and no necessary expense spared to give the youth the benefits of a higher training. Means were therefore soon provided and a building was commenced in Monrovia to be used as a high school, with the fond hope of it some day developing into a regular college or university. In 1839 the Liberia Conference Seminary was set in operation under the charge of the Rev. Jabez A. Burton, A. B., its first principal. He was assisted by Mrs. Ann Wilkins and Mrs. Eunice Moore. Mr. Burton's principalship was short, it having lasted only two brief years; but they were years of unremitting toil in the midst of trying circumstances, followed by success. He succeeded in laying at least a foundation which has been serviceable to his successors and which remains even till the present. In August, 1841, Mr. Burton died. The school successively fell into other hands, among whom we may mention the following: Rev. W. B. Williams, of the New York Conference; Messrs. Hoyt, Gripon, Morris, and others. In 1849 a beautiful and commodious brick building, with stone foundation, was constructed under the superintendency of the Rev. N. S. Bastion, successor to the Revs. J. B. Benhan and John Seys, superintendents of the Liberia mission. This was the finest building in the Republic, costing $10,000. In February, 1853, the Rev. James W. Horne, of the New York East Conference, assisted by Mr. Gibson, took charge. The school was thoroughly graded, and a course covering a regular college preparatory grade arranged and actively pursued. Mr. Horne's work was of great

value to the church and the Republic of Liberia. His name still lives and is redolent with precious memories. His noble, self-sacrificing labors stand a living monument to abide forever. Mr. Horne, and afterward his wife, brought their work to a close in 1857. They, like their predecessors, worked well, but all too brief, for they were soon compelled to abandon the work on account of failing health.

When Bishop Gilbert Haven arrived in 1876 a day of hope dawned for our educational work. The Rev. Royal Jasper Kellogg, a competent teacher, was secured, and he entered upon his work in 1878. The reopening of the seminary met with an encouraging response of one hundred pupils. The building, much dilapidated, was repaired, and the work of education, which had been allowed to lag, revived again. Unfortunately Mr. Kellogg's health soon failed, and in 1880 he returned to the United States. The school, however, under his administration did good work, and many of his students bear testimony to the popularity and success of the institution. In 1880 Mr. R. P. Hollett took charge, but he remained only a few years, returning to the United States seriously impaired in health by a trip to the Niger and Schadd rivers, whither he had gone prospecting in what he believed a better position for more successful and productive mission work.

Under Bishop Taylor's administration educational interests revived somewhat. The Rev. Daniel Ware, a member of the Liberia Annual Conference, taught awhile. He died in 1892. Bishop Taylor secured teachers from time to time till the close of his administration, in 1896. The school, at certain times in this period, was much reduced in number, the enrollment being sometimes less than a dozen, and these few primary students. Anthony D. Williams, A. M., of Liberia, was appointed principal February 14, 1895. He served two years. Under his principalship there were improvement and progress, the enrollment having averaged fifty-eight in the next two years, there being sixty pupils the first year and fifty-six the next.

From the beginning of the school in 1839 to the present many excellent teachers, whose names do not appear in this sketch, taught and rendered faithful service, thus contributing their share to this work.

In December, 1896, the present incumbent, Rev. Alexander P. Camphor, B. D., was appointed principal, and his wife, Mrs. Mamie A. R. Camphor, preceptress. They, with Dr. Walter N. Fowler, missionary physician, accompanied Bishop Hartzell to Africa. The seminary was repaired, and on February 18 opened with an enrollment of eighty pupils. At the close of the session the pupils numbered one hundred and forty. During the year the school was graded, a uniform system of the best text books adopted, needed furnishings and equipments provided, additional teachers secured, the tone and character of the school elevated, courses of study arranged, and an excellent beginning made in many ways toward permanent growth and development.

At the last session of the conference, in Greenville, Sinoe county, the work of the seminary received special attention. The conference was

deeply moved over the plan and purpose of Bishop Hartzell to enlarge the school and place it upon a broader basis, one of strength and efficiency. The name of the school was accordingly changed from Monrovia Seminary to the College of West Africa.

The reopening of the college last March, the second year of the present administration, marked an important epoch in the history of the school. An opening day address was delivered by the president to the students and citizens of Monrovia. A large gathering of students and many of the leading men and women of the city crowded the building to hear the address and help to make the day memorable. Speeches interspersed with music followed the principal address. The speakers were the Rev. S. T. Prout, pastor of the Methodist Episcopal church; Dr. Paulus Moort, rector of the Protestant Episcopal church; the Rev. L. C. Curtis, superintendent of the African Methodist Episcopal Mission; Dr. F. G. Snelson, of Sierra Leone; the Rev. Henry Cooper, Hon. F. E. R. Johnson, Hon. R. T. Sherman, Judge Travis, Mrs. King and Mrs. Camphor, Professors Frith and Massey, and others. Thus entered the college upon its important mission under the most flattering and favorable circumstances.

Now, a closing word to the friends and patrons of the school. The future for this institution will be largely what you make it. Friends abroad may help, as they have nobly done for sixty years, but the task and responsibility of making the school a perennial source of blessing—intellectual and spiritual—are upon you. This burden cannot be honorably shifted upon the shoulders of others. We ourselves must place the college upon a respectable and permanent basis through our own self-sacrificing efforts. Let us, therefore, begin at once, with all earnestness, to concentrate our undivided efforts here, and make the institution a rallying center, of Christian learning where the youth may secure the necessary preparation for life's work. Mothers, fathers, guardians, crowd your boys and girls into this school. Seize the grand and rare opportunity brought within your reach. Make the needed sacrifice, so that your children may get an education. Let them remain undisturbed year after year till they are dismissed with the high honors of the institution, and sent out fully equipped to do something to help and save benighted Africa.

*Organization.*—The work of the college is divided up into departments, each complete in itself, but when blended together constitute a harmonious whole.

The following departments were organized at the beginning of the present year:

I. The primary school, the work of which covers a period of three years and leads up to the grammar school. In this department the child makes his first steps in the acquisition of knowledge. Here he makes his beginning in nearly all the common elementary branches. Daily drill is given in vocal music, calisthenics, diacritical marks, and catechism. In connection with the study of the catechism instruction in morals and

manners and practical Christianity is imparted and impressed. The mind of the child is assisted in grasping and mastering the subjects by a system of object-lessons, pictures, charts, and blackboard representations. In three years he finishes the work in this school and is ready for the grammar school.

II. The work of the grammar school furnishes instruction in the ordinary English branches, and is preparatory for the high school. It covers a period of three years, and may be easily mastered by the determined and diligent student. The work of the second and third years is again divided, and is designated as "second year, A," "second year, B," "third year, A," and "third year, B." Students whose ability and circumstances are such that they cannot complete the work in the allotted time may easily accomplish it in two additional years.

III. The high school aims to give a knowledge of the higher branches of English. Special attention is given to English composition, rhetoric, general history, algebra, geometry, English literature, and the natural sciences. Weekly drill is given in letter-writing, business forms, composition, and elocutionary exercises. The course may be completed in two years.

IV. The normal course is designed to prepare teachers for their work. It proposes to furnish a thorough professional training. The curriculum includes the branches usaully taught in American schools. A faithful prosecution of the studies prescribed, the methods adopted, and the practice afforded will give an excellent qualification for the teacher's profession.

V. The college preparatory and college departments aim to give a classical education. The work embraces a respectable course in classics, mathematics, science, philosophy, and literature, in grade comparing favorably with universities and colleges abroad. It is earnestly hoped that our boys and girls will not stop short of a full college education.

We submit the following brief reasons why the youth of Liberia should continue their education through the full college course:

1. A college education offers to you the rare and valuable treasures of both ancient and modern learning, the acquisition and proper application of which fit you for the largest and highest usefulness.

2. It gives a deeper, more critical, and commanding knowledge of the English language.

3. The discipline which it imparts develops a mental activity which gives to the possessor freedom to move and ability to act in whatever sphere he may be placed.

4. It helps the student to ascertain and understand his right relation to society, to government, and his fellow-men, and it constitutes an important factor in solving many of the great national, social, intellectual, and religious problems of life.

5. This education leads to the cultivation of those higher mental and moral powers which reveal to man his true self and his God.

6. Lastly, a college education will furnish that equipment whereby you will become intelligent, reliable, and efficient leaders in every sphere of life that you may be called to enter.

VI. The biblical department aims to give young men preparing for the Christian ministry that systematic preparation which will help them best subserve the interests of the Kingdom of God. There is a pressing need for a trained ministry to meet the demands of our difficult work. It is a cause for regret and deep concern that there has not been any direct effort made in special ministerial training, in order that our young men might receive proper equipment from a regular, systematic, biblical education that would send them forth able and aggressive ministers of the gospel.

The importance of providing such education cannot be too strongly advocated, for the life and success of the church depend largely upon the quantity and quality of the minister's preparation for his work. If untrained, his usefulness is of necessity circumscribed; but if to vital godliness, which he should first of all possess, there is linked the best education, he is then qualified for the largest service and the most permanent success.

A fair beginning has been made during the year in this department. The Bible, in connection with Hurlbut's Revised Normal Outline, Stalker's Life of Christ, lectures from the professor on some of the leading doctrines of Methodism, the call, qualification, and preparation of the minister, have been studied.

We invite pastors, exhorters, local preachers, missionaries, and Christian workers of whatever name to this important department of our work.

VII. Our industrial department is designed to emphasize the practical side of education, teach the dignity of labor, and thus pave the way for industrious, intelligent, and independent citizens. It embraces work in carpentry, tinsmithing, shoemaking, blacksmithing, printing, and home training for girls. Work in all departments will be in full operation as soon as suitable buildings can be secured. The work in each department will be placed under the direction of skilled teachers with the best and the most improved tools. Students will take work in connection with their regular school duties.

We invite special attention to the home department for girls. Its object is to develop the highest and best type of Christian womanhood. The girls receive in this home that training which will make them proficient in all that is necessary to make sweet, clean, and happy homes. It includes all the routine of housework, executed in keeping with the best system, rule, and order.

*Night School.*—For the accommodation of students who cannot attend school in the day, a night school has been organized and an experienced teacher placed in charge. The incidental fee is $1 per month. Applications must be made to the president of the college.

*The Unity of Our Work.*—Bishop Hartzell's plan is so to unify all our educational work, native and Liberian, thoughout the bounds of the Republic as to reduce it to a system, having the College of West Africa center and head. All the schools, including Cape Palmas Seminary and Saint Paul's River Industrial Mission, will adopt and pursue the courses of study, governmental regulations, plans of work, and methods of teaching prescribed in this catalogue. The church and mission schools will attempt nothing beyond the primary and grammar courses. Cape Palmas and Saint Paul's River Industrial Mission may take students through the high school and college preparatory courses, leaving the biblical, normal, and college courses distinctively the work of the College of West Africa.

It is earnestly hoped that students completing work in our lower schools will continue their education in the college up to graduation without interruption.

Quarterly reports, giving exact and full information about every school, will be required. Blanks will be sent out by the president of the college, to whom these reports will be addressed. These will serve as a basis from which the yearly statistical report of our entire educational work will be made.

Correspondence is solicited with all our teachers, pastors, and presiding elders.

As soon as our schools are sufficiently organized it is the plan to hold once a year, in the several districts, teachers' institutes, educational conventions and assemblies, conducted in turn by the professors of the college, and assisted by local educators and helpers.

*Honor Cards.*—A daily record is kept of each student's standing in deportment, punctuality, and recitation. Honor cards are issued monthly to students on the following conditions:

1. They must be present at roll call each morning during the month.
2. They must merit no less than an average of 90 per cent. in three leading studies.
3. They must not fall below 65 per cent. in any study.
4. They must have 90 per cent. or more in deportment.

At the end of the session students will be rewarded in proportion to the number of cards received during the year.

*Examinations.*—Oral and written examinations will be held at the end of each term.

An average mark of 65 per cent. is necessary to complete the study.

The average passing mark is made from the examination and the average daily mark. Students whose average is below 65 per cent. in any study must be re-examined. In case of a second failure, the study must be taken up again.

Students who absent themselves from examination will not be permitted to continue with their class unless they first take the examination.

The registrar of the institution will keep a permanent record of all marks made by students during the year.

*Terms of Admission.*—The College of West Africa is open to all, irrespective of parentage, race, sex, or religion. Applicants for admission to any department of the school must furnish satisfactory evidence of good moral character and agree to conform to all the rules and regulations of the institution.

It is very important to be present at the beginning of the school year and remain throughout the session.

Parents and guardians will kindly observe this fact and make their arrangements accordingly.

Students coming from other schools must present testimonials of honorable dismissal.

Applicants for admission to the Biblical department, intending to enter the Christian ministry, must bring certificates from their quarterly conferences that they are, in the judgment of the church, called to preach the gospel. Properly indorsed licenses as exhorters or local preachers will be accepted.

EXPENSES.

1. *For Day Students.*

Incidental Fee.

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|---|---|
| In the college, college preparatory, and normal departments, per month, to each student | $1 00 |
| In the high school, grammar, and primary departments, per month, to each student | 50 |
| In the night school, per month, to each student | 1 00 |

(The usual reduction of incidental fee will be made for two or more coming from the same family.)

2. *For Boarding Students.*

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| Table board, including room, washing, incidental fee, and the use of the necessary text books, per month, to each student | $9 00 |

Boarding students must furnish their own bed clothes, towels, lamps, oil, and toilet articles.

To accommodate parents who may not have the ready cash to pay their children's boarding expenses, we will gladly take at any time in payment for the same live stock or garden produce of any kind, such as cows, hogs, sheep, goats, chickens, eggs, etc., potatoes, cassada, rice, coffee, palm oil, etc. We will pay the current market prices for all these articles.

Students who are not afraid of indiscriminate work can earn $3 per month to help in the payment of expenses.

*Payments.*—It is important that all bills be paid quarterly and in advance.—*Catalogue of the College of West Africa, 1898.*

Miss Kingsley's Description of Native African Property Law.—Miss Kingsley, whose name has become famous in matters relating to Africa, rendered good service to both Africa and the cause of British imperial rule when she described the nature of African property law before the British Association last year. Miss Kingsley enumerated the three kinds of property existing in West African culture, viz: (1) Ancestral or public property of the tribe, that connected with the office of kingship, chieftainship, and headmanship; (2) family property, in which every member of the family had a certain share, to which every member had to contribute, and on which every member had a claim; (3) private property, that acquired or made by a man or woman by personal exertion, over and above that made by them in coöperation with other members of their family. Miss Kingsley further defined the conditions attaching to these several kinds of property and stated rightly that of the several kinds of property mentioned each was equally sacred in the eye of the native law. The only kind of property which could be alienated was private property, which constantly merged into one owner and another on the death of the original possessor. Ancestral or tribal property and family property remained of their kind for ever, and could not be alienated though liable to a sort of equitable mortgage for debt. This is essentially the principal governing native law in regard to property and embodies the idea regulating under English law the disposition of the estates of deceased persons, and which makes only the personal estate of the deceased amenable to administration and distribution. Native law and ideas are opposed to the alienation of land property and immovable property of any kind, and the unwritten code which sanctifies this law acquires an instinctive hold upon the mind of the native; a thorough knowledge of the principles and ideas governing native thought and life must assist largely toward their successful government; and Miss Kingsley is doing a great work in correcting erroneous notions and creating with the English people a right conception of the institutions and laws of the foreign people over whom British rule is exercised. The value of Miss Kingsley's labor is doubly enhanced in that it is of a disinterested kind and prompted solely by philanthropic motives. It could be wished that her efforts were seconded by a nucleus of some sort representing the interests and agencies existing and operating in West Africa. Strengthened with such support, the work of instructing English public opinion would be more speedily and effectually achieved. As it is, Miss Kingsley stands alone in her important work; and when the British public shall have awakened to a realization of the great importance which that work bears on the success of British rule and the welfare of the natives governed the honor and laurels will fall to her who now stands alone, as it were, preaching in the wilderness. In the meantime the African who sees the true object and outcome of her work willingly and gratefully accords her his appreciation, realizing that his destiny in a great measure depends upon the success of her efforts. We understand that Miss Kingsley will shortly issue another book on

the African question, and natives generally will await with no little anxiety the appearance of a book which we venture to prognosticate will be full of interest for them.—*The Lagos Weekly Record.*

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The Position of the Negro in the United States.—We reproduce in our columns today a letter addressed by a white citizen of the State of Alabama, in the United States of America, to the colored newspaper, the *Indianapolis Freeman*, on the subject of the recent lynching of Negroes in Georgia, and which indicates clearly the view of the white man, both North and South, as regards the Negro. The following paragraphs from Mr. Robertson's letter serve to demonstrate the sentiment of the white man in regard to the Negro:

"The white race will never tolerate a jury trial in case of a Negro brute raping a white woman. Reputable Negroes will not be guilty of such a thing. This is a white man's country, as Bishop Turner recently said in one of his lectures in our city. The white man bought it with his blood; hence is jealous of it. No inferior race can take any liberties in it not sanctioned by law. I contend there is no Negro problem to be solved in the white man's country. As Bishop Turner truthfully said, 'This is not the Negro's home since he was set free, but Africa is his home. There he has the right to do as he pleases; let him go there.'"

We have stated here with fearless candor the sentiment which prevails with the white population and has served to create the so-called Negro problem in America, and led to the many unhappy manifestations which have developed in the various ramifications of the so-called problem. It is plain to see that where an intensified race feeling exists, how likely and feasible it is for some excuse or other to be fixed upon to justify the oppression of the less numerous race against whom antipathy exists, and Mr. Robertson's letter leads unmistakably to the conclusion that in the United States rape is simply a war-cry to awaken resentment against the Negro. It is a cry on which the sentiment of the white man is united, and is so strong that it will not stop to inquire if there is any truth in the charge when made, neither will it brook investigation into such a charge at the hands of a jury.

The indifference shown in the matter of the lynching of Negroes in all parts of the country, and the failure recently of the Federal Government to bring the culprits to justice for the murder of a Negro postmaster and his family, whose only crime was that he was made postmaster, all conspire to show that the Negro in America is confronted with an intense and venomous race antipathy which knows no alleviation and the only escape from which is an abandonment of the country. The solution of any difficulty or problem is promoted where the issues are clearly defined, and if the white population would only resolutely take the stand which Mr. Robertson has taken in his letter to the *Indianapolis Freeman*, a distinct advance would be made in the solution of the Negro problem in

America. We fail to appreciate the tenability or rationalness of the following contention urged by colored newspapers of America:

"The Negroes are here as charter members of this country. They were present at the inception of the Republic and shared all its tribulations. It is true they were not clothed with the prerogatives of citizens at the moment, but their birthright was bound up in the Declaration of Independence, which declared all men were born free and equal."

In face of the treatment accorded the Negro in America, the foregoing becomes silly and meaningless prattle. It is not the ideal which the Negro may conjure up in his mind as regards his rights and prerogatives which will avail anything, but the status which his white compatriot will accord him. There must be an umpire in the matter, and the white man, who is in the majority, is clear and decided on the point, and the action of the State responds to the popular sentiment that the Negro has no rights in America. Rights which are not respected by the people nor the law of the land have no existence in fact, and the Negro in America, though he may prate incessantly and loudly about his rights, will only find the prejudice become intensified against him with time, until his position is rendered untenable. This result will follow in spite of the efforts of those who are trying to mislead the Negro into the belief that the two races can come together in America, a contingency which Mr. Robertson and every other white man declares impossible, and which Negroes of Bishop Turner and Professor Booker Washington stamp realize to be an idle dream. The only problem which exists in regard to the Negro in America is that propounded by Mr. Robertson: "When will the Negro go home out of the white man's country?" The solution of this problem is largely in the hands of the Government of the United States. Let the Government insure facilities by subsidizing steam communication with Africa for enabling the Negro to reach his home at small cost, and the problem will be solved. Candid utterances like that of Mr. Robertson's help much toward this end, and if the white population of the United States would express themselves as freely it would tend to undeceive the Negro and make him realize the impossibility of race amalgamation in the United States.—*The Lagos Weekly Record.*

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The American Negro and Liberia.—Viewing the general condition of the Negro in America from a Liberian standpoint, and being acquainted with life in both countries, there are certain conclusions which force themselves upon the mind.

Whatever may be or might have been the fond hopes of the American Negro implanted in his breast after the war (of 1861–'65) by kind friends, yet now, to the observing and thoughtful Negro, these conclusions present themselves, and, like Banquo's ghost, will not "down" at his bidding.

It is meant in this article to call the attention of the American Negro to these points, and then leave him to act as he thinks best.

1. America for the last three hundred years, nearly, has furnished for

the Negro a very good school of experience in the arts of civilization. The period before the war taught him the lesson of steady application (hard work) and some idea of the general law that "a straight line is the shortest distance between two points." Some general notion of cause and effect, or reaping according to the sowing, was also learned.

It was then fondly believed that all the Negro needed to make him equal to "other people" was personal freedom.

2. He got that in 1865–'69, but then he and his friends saw clearly that he needed something else, namely, education and wealth.

3. Since that date he has made successful efforts to perfect himself in education and refinement and to acquire wealth. With what result?

4. In 1870 I think there was only one line of railroad in all America that had separate cars for black and white, viz., the "Georgia Central." At the present date nearly every Southern State has passed a law compelling every railroad company to provide separate cars, and the line is being more tightly drawn in other departments.

5. This shows that education, refinement, and wealth, instead of bringing the races nearer together, are really driving them further apart.

What will the end be?

6. The second or graduating period of the American school, now in progress, will teach our people there that two equal individuals cannot occupy the same space at the same time, and the final result must be emigration to Liberia on a large scale.

The better classes will find means to come and bring the others along with them.

7. Liberia can furnish free land to every Negro family in the United States; but they need to bring with them money to support themselves a year or two; household and kitchen furniture, economy, industrial habits, common sense, and, above all, a deep-rooted desire to build up a race and government of their own.

Those who, in deciding to come here, feel themselves actuated by mere ill will to the white people may be assured that they have not learned their lesson well, and should not start until they can truly say they leave America, not because they love Cæsar less, but Rome more.—*Julius C. Stevens in "The New Africa."*

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THROUGH SOUTH AFRICA.—The city of Kimberley is 647 miles from Cape Town—a ride of two days and one night. It has a population of 35,000 and the greatest diamond mines of the world. The United States is represented here by a consular agent, Mr. Gardner F. Williams, who is the general manager of the mines. I was pleased to learn that many of the most responsible positions are held by Americans.

I was not at all surprised to see American machinery here. The immense driving gear of a pumping engine made in England had to be sent to Chicago to have cogs cut. The company is operating an ice plant sent from Chicago and has three more ordered, each with a capacity of five

tons per day and 20,000 cubic feet of cold storage; and a complete dynamite plant, with an American to manage it, is on its way here from America. The 150 miles of narrow-gauge railroad in and around the mines are laid with American rails, and every tie or sleeper is made of California redwood, which in this country is par excellence the best wood for such a purpose. It is also used in many other ways. Three ships from California have recently arrived with cargoes of the redwood and Oregon pine. The company sells its ice for half a cent per pound to all, while in Cape Town the charge is 4 cents per pound.

All the water used in and about the city flows through pipes made in the United States. I was pulled to Kimberley by an American locomotive, and there are several others now in use in Cape Colony. On the narrow-gauge railroad are thousands of trucks made of plate iron and holding about a ton of rock each, pulled in trains by small engines or by overhead cables. These trucks ought to be made in the United States and the tenders competed for.

Kimberley and its mines are good customers of the United States, but we ought to have still more of the trade, and especially in galvanized corrugated sheet iron, which throughout all South Africa is used extensively. All the immense buildings of the mines in Kimberley and Johannesburg are composed of it, as well as thousands of dwelling-houses, barns, warehouses, fences, etc. The large merchants in all the cities carry stocks of various lengths. It comes packed in bundles of twelve sheets, with thick felt between the ends of each sheet, all held together by iron bands.

Leaving Kimberley, a ride of 167 miles brings one to the borders of the Orange Free State. Passing through the Orange Free State to the borders of the South African Republic, a distance of 334 miles, one sees nothing but the same monotonous landscape; but more and better farming is noticed and the crops are more diversified. A large number of American agricultural implements is sold here through Cape Town houses. In fact, a great proportion of all merchandise sold throughout South Africa comes by the large mercantile houses in Cape Town, Port Elizabeth, East London, and Durban, who have travelers all over South Africa. The Orange Free State is prosperous, though much land is idle. The people, principally Dutch, welcome all comers, and a residence of only a few years will admit to citizenship.

On the border of the South African Republic we were held five hours for the examination of baggage. We then took the train of the Netherlands railway, which is owned, it is said, by Hollanders, and proceeded to Pretoria, a distance of 77 miles. Pretoria is the capital of the Republic, a small city among hills, regularly laid out, with several handsome public buildings, but quiet, and not a business center.

The next day I reached Johannesburg by the Netherlands railway. I never rode over a better road-bed or in more comfortable cars. They are equipped with all modern conveniences, and the dining cars reminded me of home. The cars are all of iron, even the covering and sides, and in

warm weather, I am told, are like a furnace, but no better railway equipment as a whole can be found anywhere. Johannesburg is a busy, bustling city, the only real city in South Africa from the standpoint of an American. The buildings would do credit to any city. The streets are wide, but the motive power of the street railways consists of horses and mules, and, as the Boers believe that the substitution of other power would stop the sale of forage and horses, the government will not grant a concession. Electric roads would open up new territory. Electric lines should also be built in Kimberley, East London, and Durban. The horse cars still run in these cities, and the length of the present roads is great.

Johannesburg has been built up by the gold-mining industry, developed by foreign capital, and American ability has had a hand in the development, for Americans occupy the very necessary and responsible positions of managers, consulting engineers, and superintendents, and I was glad to learn that their ability was recognized by other countries. Mr. J. C. Manion, the United States consular agent at Johannesburg, is one of the prominent citizens. He has been the means of introducing mining machinery and supplies of all kinds of American manufacture to the value of millions of dollars.

Durban, Natal, is twenty-four hours' ride from Johannesburg, which city I left wearing an overcoat, but at Durban I found warm weather and an abundance of fruit and flowers. This is a winter resort, and at present the hotels are full of people from the Transvaal. Durban carries at present the largest tonnage to the Transvaal, but the value of goods imported via Cape Town is the highest.

I spent several days in Durban, calling on the merchants, talking trade, and comparing prices. One of them said to me: "I recently ordered five tons of hoop iron of an English manufacturer. After the order had gone forward, one of your American salesmen came along and made me a price $10 per ton less, and I gave him an order for five tons, and then tried to have the English order canceled, but the English house refused, and in their reply stated that 'no one could make and guarantee a first-class article at the price named, and a test would prove it.' When the iron arrived I tested both, and the American was several per cent. the best."

I could fill several sheets with just such agreeable statements. A number of the stores I have visited are well stocked and of a magnitude that was unexpected to me. Our wholesale houses in America are, many of them, small in comparison. Large stocks have to be carried, and goods are often kept in bond. The stores cover a good deal of ground.

The jinrikshas, pulled by Zulus, are the public conveyance and are used as are our cabs. The Zulus are the finest specimens of the black race in the world. They are mahogany-colored, stalwart, intelligent, and easily governed. Those who pull the jinrikshas put the horns of animals on their heads and fasten the wings of large birds on their arms. Their arms, legs, ears, and noses are loaded down with iron and brass ornaments. No one is allowed to sell them any intoxicating drink, and they are consequently peaceable and happy.

I stopped at a hotel just being completed, and was pleased to note that all the doors and trimmings, and even lights, were from the United States. In fact, I was, during my whole trip, all the time putting my hands on something American. I was told that our "screwdrivers, hammers, hatchets, chisels, etc., were so cheap (though good) that it did not pay to grind or repair them; that it was better and cheaper to buy new ones."

Taking a steamer of the Union line, I left Durban for a seven days' voyage to Cape Town. I stopped in East London to visit W. H. Fuller, our consular agent there. The United States consular agents in South Africa are all representative, able men, well known and well liked, and are helping our commercial interests, as is shown by the statement that, although the total of imports into South Africa was less for 1898 than for 1897, the imports from the United States increased instead of falling off. East London is a business city, and through its port passes a large amount of the imports and exports of South Africa.

One can see in this city a stock of agricultural implements equal to that in any American city of equal size, and nine-tenths of the stock is of American manufacture. I would advise the plow manufacturers of the United States to send over, not salesmen, but mechanics and experts, to learn the wants of these customers.

From East London I sailed for Port Elizabeth, visiting the agency there while the ship was discharging cargo. One more stop was made at Mossell bay, where I found a ship from America (a British ship) discharging a cargo of 1,000 tons of rails for a new railroad. I might add, in reference to Port Elizabeth, that the registered tonnage entering the port in 1898 was 1,794,671 tons, carried by 534 vessels. The total exports for 1898 were valued at £2,103,351 ($10,235,958), of which wool amounted to £851,784 ($4,145,207), Angora hair to £589,510 ($2,868,504), and ostrich feathers to £442,759 ($2,214,683). The total imports for 1897 were £8,411,606 ($40,935,081), and for 1898, £6,645,030 ($32,338,038), and, while a decided decrease is shown, I state again, to impress it upon the minds of our producers, that the imports from the United States did not decrease. American goods are liked, are bought, and with no unforeseen disaster will be bought in greater quantities from year to year if our manufacturers do their part.

Several corporations in the United States have also been incorporated in Great Britain, with offices in London, for the purpose of better commercial intercourse.

I must make mention of the electric-light and telephone plants seen on the trip. At Kimberley the service is American and is good. At Johannesburg it is Dutch, and every one is finding fault. No service is furnished after 5 p. m., and you must pay a year's subscription in advance, about $75 per month. In Durban it is German and fair.—*Consul General Stowe.*

REV. CHARLES S. MORRIS WRITES ENTHUSIASTICALLY OF THE POSSIBILITIES IN SOUTH AFRICA.—Port Elizabeth, South Africa, September 1.—Here I am, after a sail of 10,000 miles, safe and well on the tip end of this great continent, now so dark and for ages thick with impenetrable gloom, but destined in the Providence of God to be torn open and riddled with light. After one gets here he wonders why our people have such an everlasting dread of coming to Africa. Why we will be shot down in the red gutters of Wilmington or burned to a handful of human cinders in Georgia, or "Jim Crowed" on cars, systematically starved and robbed on the worn-out and worthless plantations of the South, or jammed into alleys and second-hand tenements in the North, deprived of any but the most menial work, when here is a vast continent so rich and fertile as to grow two crops a year, so large that there are only seven people to the square mile, giving each one 160 acres apiece, and so healthy that every year hundreds, if not thousands, of consumptives and broken-down wrecks of Europe come here in order to lengthen out their lives.

Only yesterday I was talking to a white woman whose parents came here when she was a little girl. They are both still living, over eighty years of age each. Oh, if a million ill-treated, crowded, poorly paid, intelligent, manly Negroes, who have grit and industry, especially Christians, were to come out here, what a revolution it would work in their own circumstances; what wonders in the conditions of the poor natives, who are here in uncounted millions in a marvelously rich country, with possibilities it is impossible to exaggerate, waiting, simply waiting for leadership, enlightenment, and Christianity.

Doubtless by this time some of my friends will be ready to throw down the paper in disgust and say: "Oh, yes; here is another Bishop Turner; another crank on African emigration! This country is good enough for me." Well, to all such short-sighted objectors I have only this to say: Yes, it is good enough for you. Its insults to your manhood, its crimes against the lives of your people, its mean rewards of your courage and loyalty, the outrageous silence of a President who never would have been nominated but for colored delegates, who never could have been elected but for colored voters, the miserable opportunities for you to earn a livelihood in places you have at great sacrifice qualified yourselves to fill, the literal stealing from you of money you earn—all this is good enough for a people that can go elsewhere and do better and who have not the energy, the daring, the manhood, the spirit of adventure sufficiently developed to leave a country in which they know they are being ground to powder and go to one where they can with one-tenth the labor and one-thousandth the competition make a competence for themselves—providing they are energetic, ambitious, and economical.

The reason people write such glowing accounts of South Africa is because there is something to go into raptures about. The weather here is just about like the weather of Virginia and the Carolinas. I have been here a week. Every night I have slept under a quilt and two spreads

and wished, often longed, for more. This is just the close of the South African winter, which corresponds with our summer. In summer it is no hotter here than at home, and, the air being drier, it is not so oppressive. As to sickness, I have already said it is a health resort for Europe.

The soil in many places is exceedingly rich and fertile, growing everything from wheat, oats, and corn, back from the coast, to oranges, bananas, sugar, cotton, tobacco. Every day I eat a half dozen oranges, at two cents apiece, large and luscious, with the green stem often attached. There are vast tracts of virgin soil along the river bottoms where very few civilized settlers are. It can be had on easy terms of the government.

The natives! Without doubt one of the noblest heathen races on the face of the earth! You will smile at my enthusiasm and think that I am altogether incapable of careful observation and exact statement, but few men study people more closely. I am deliberately weighing my words when I say the Kaffir of South Africa is one of the noblest uncivilized men, if not the very noblest, on the face of the earth. Man for man, our crude American Negro does not compare with him. Why do I say that? Here are my reasons:

(1.) Consider him physically. No race can be great without great physical powers. They are tall, the average height being about 5 feet 10 or 11 inches, with many over 6 feet. They are, as old Senator Thurman once said of the Negro, "a prolific animal." Strong, muscular, lithe, graceful, without being heavy, the average weight, I should say, between 150 and 160 pounds. Small feet, with good instep; straight as an arrow, with heads, taking them all in all, the finest I ever saw grow on a black man's shoulders; large, round, high foreheads, indicating intellect; very high in the crown, indicating a fine moral endowment; excessively high at the upper back end, betraying the Kaffir's great weakness and, at the same time, his great strength, excessive pride, and self-esteem. I suppose the "raw Kaffir," sitting before the door of his kraal, is without doubt a prouder man than William McKinley sitting on the White House portico reading of the Wilmington massacre, the Georgia roasted flesh sale, or the Philippines, Yorktown, and Valley Forge. They are born gentlemen, with great forcibility in expressing their polite sentiments. I am continually surprised at the grace and felicity with which they welcome me and the maturity of their thought, and I confess not a little put to it to reply with a grace I never could have learned on the plantations of the South. I am really embarrassed in attempting to write a description of these singularly endowed people lest I should be thought carried away with an unwarranted enthusiasm.

In color they are mostly dark brown, with variations up to very light brown and occasionally very dark brown or black, although black is rare. The hair is the genuine, simon pure, unadulterated wool, that would throw one of our American hair-straighteners into either ecstasy or despair. The features are Negro, but not of the West Coast type. The lips are thinner; the face straight, minus the receding forehead and

chin; cheek bones very high; eyes small and rather deeply set; noses as a rule generally inclined to be flat, but noticeable more for their smallness—altogether a fine face.

In religion they are like the whole race of Ham, naturally religious. Hymns, hymns, Kaffir hymns—that is, our hymns translated into Kaffir and their jubilee hymns printed in their hymn books—you hear everywhere, at all hours of the day and night; and churches—such churches as Paul wrote to "the church that is in the house of Aquila and Priscilla"—are everywhere. There are also large Wesleyan and Congregational churches with their own native ministers, who, many of them, are men of real eloquence and power. Here is (out in the interior) a region for missionary effort that challenges the devotion and love and obedience of our thousands of young men and women in America who love the Lord and want to leave father and mother to serve him.

Oh, if a thousand of our ministers who are idle, useless, and literally falling over each other in America, would only come out here and become spiritual and temporal leaders of these people! What a revolution they could work! Christians in America, the hour has struck for Ethiopia to suddenly stretch forth her hands unto God! Here are teeming millions of magnificent savages, naturally religious, simply waiting for civilized leadership. The white man cannot lead them, because he cannot enter into their aspirations and sympathies with them. God has been preparing you for the work—enlightened Christians, but crowded almost out of the continent of America. You are God's appointed leaders of these waiting, restless millions with such marvelous possibilities under intelligent leadership. Will you come here and help God redeem this promise to Ethiopia, at the same time serving yourself both temporally and spiritually, or will you still cling like a drowning man to the coat tails of the white man, beaten in the face, starved in the stomach, empty in the pockets, and conscience-smitten in the soul, because you will not rise up grandly to a grand need and realize the sublime glorious, dazzling possibilities God is presenting to you at the dawning of the twentieth century? —*Charles Satchell Morris in the New York Age.*

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The American Negro and Liberia.—People in America who lecture or write about Liberia do not always, nor even often, describe Liberia as it really is. Those who are prejudiced against the country grossly misrepresent it. They take some of the evils or disadvantages and greatly magnify them. The fever, for instance, is magnified into a great bug-bear, and many upon arriving here are already filled with fear and ready to give up and die at the first slight attack of malaria.

Now, this fever is the same that we have in the Southern States, only it will come and go a little quicker.

By a prompt use of pills, oil, and quinine no one need die of fever.

Again, many lecturers and writers dwell entirely upon the dangerous wild beasts, snakes, insects, and savage natives.

I will assure the American Negro that he need not care the value of a straw for these things. There are people here forty years old who have never seen a lion, a tiger, or an elephant. Snakes are scarce. For more centuries than we know, the natives have hunted and eaten every snake they could lay their hands on, so that by this time snakes have learned to hide themselves in thick jungles and swamps where we are not likely to have any particular business.

Contrary to what is said in the geography, the insects here are comparatively harmless. Spiders may be seen everywhere, but nobody pays the slightest attention to them. I have not heard of any one being bitten or stung by a spider during the six years I have been here.

House-flies, bed-bugs, mosquitoes, and the like are quite scarce.

And now I will describe the other part. When immigrants arrive here they are at liberty to visit about to select a place of settlement. Having found the place they want, the Government's officer gives an order to the surveyor to survey twenty-five acres of land to each family and ten acres for each adult.

Now, right here, I wish to make it clearly understood that having given you the land, the Government expects you to work it and make your living on it The people here have had to do so, and they are not able, nor are they inclined, to build your house and cultivate your farm for nothing; you are to do this yourself; but the people are about as charitable here as they are in America.

You can hire natives to clear your land at about the value of twelve yards of calico per acre, and you can hire them to deliver your poles or small logs to build your temporary house for ten to fifteen dollars a hundred. You can cut sticks and fence your garden; otherwise, fences are not used.

There is another fact that needs to be well known and remembered. The American Negro coming here must come able to be an employer, not a servant. There is no one to hire him as a day laborer. The Americo-Liberian who will not work for himself is generally unreliable as a laborer or overseer. Fortunately, it does not require much capital to employ native labor. The well-to-do Southern Negro farmer arriving here with as much as one hundred dollars for each member of his family, bringing also his clothes and furniture, might make that last until he has grown potatoes, cassava, corn, peas, chickens, pigs, goats, and garden vegetables, and the like. He will then be comparatively independent. He must expect to meet the inconveniences usual to all new countries.

One word more. You have been used to spend money freely. When you start here you must be sparing in the use of your money, for you will need every cent of it to support yourself and family for a year or so.—*J. C. Stevens, Agent A. C. S., in The New Africa.*